

A SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC STUDY  
OF MODIFICATION IN THE NOUN PHRASE IN  
CLASSICAL ARABIC

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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### Dedication

To my family who were constant support in my study; and who were more than patient with me; for putting up with me at the time of this study, and for all the encouragement they have given me.

## ABSTRACT

This is a study of modification in CA nominal phrases at the levels of syntax and semantics. It examines the semantic and syntactic basis on which modification is made, its types and features, and the function of focus by word order change. Modification is considered here as an operation performed on the NPs, based on a structural relationship of two linguistic concepts (Head and Modifier). The study makes use of the ideas and concepts put forward by other linguists dealing with modification as a linguistic concept.

Apart from the Introduction, the thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter I deals with Deictics as represented by demonstratives, the definite article and possessive pronouns. Their function as a modifier, their cataphoric, anaphoric and exophoric references are outlined, marking the identity between two units involved in the context. Other functions like generic, specific and aggregate are discussed.

Chapter II discusses modification in the NP within relational sentences where it plays an important role in producing this type of sentence. Attention is drawn to the main divisions of relational sentences such as ascriptive, equative, possessive and circumstantial which are the virtual representation of the relationship between attribuant and attributive elements or rather subject and predicate.



Again the sentences are analyzed along the axes in which they are predominantly marked by modification as to whether it is obligatory or optional.

Chapter III consists of a discussion of the relationships holding between the relative clauses as a subordinate clause and the preceding noun as a subordinating element so that they have different syntactic status. Various semantic and syntactic criteria are given to distinguish their modificatory function. To this end restrictive and non-restrictive types are discussed, and also semantic sub-types where the relative clauses have different contextual functions. Also characteristics distinguishing restrictive and non-restrictive representations are pointed out on the basis of grammatical status and semantic choices. Other features are portrayed: specific and non-specific, attributive and non-attributive and causative relations. Syntactic features are dealt with regarding the forms and the choices which are related to semantic options.

In Chapter IV, quantifiers are discussed on three fundamental axes: word class, semantic function and syntactic function. This discussion is devoted to establishing the grounds on which the term quantifier is distinguished from the counterpart numeral. The distinctive features set up in this chapter delineate the structural function of the quantifiers as a class of quantifying modifiers in nominal phrases. This involves four main features: premodifier, postmodifier, variable and invariable. Word order change is a mechanism

operated for focus considerations on the transposed element. These structural characteristics are associable with semantic types as in this chapter.

Chapter V treats various word classes which function within one syntactic area, the semantic implications are examined so as to show sub-semantic functions of these classes which include centre adjectives, common nouns, relative adjectives and participial adjectives which denote aspectually stative, dynamic, physical, habitual, inceptive etc.

The discussion in Chapter VI is centred around the appositive structure where the modificatory relationship is between two equal elements in such a way that the omission of one of them does not affect the grammaticality of the structure. The effect lies only in the structural and semantic representations which will be affected by reducing the members of the structure by one element which represents a structural function and a piece of information. In this chapter, we deal with three types of structures appositives, genitives and fractions since they are structurally and functionally similar. That is to say, they function as determinative with two elements.

In Chapter VII, a full treatment is given of the system of cardinals and ordinals. The cardinals can function structurally as premodifiers or as postmodifiers. Structurally, the ordinals are prefixed by the article al- and function as postmodifier, except that when the ordinals

from (3-10) occur without al- preceding the head noun, they function as premodifiers. For this purpose, tables and structural analysis as well as structural types of relationships are illustrated.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Bruce Ingham, my academic supervisor, for taking the responsibility of supervising this work. Only with his extreme patience, his friendly, splendid attitude, his constant help, his noble character which is a distinctive feature of his personality, and his deep insight of the knowledge of both the field of research and the language under study, this research has the final presentation. His tireless devotion to this work will never be forgotten. In addition, his elaborate comments, his fruitful discussions and valuable advice helped me to find my way through the extremely difficult subject of modification in CA, especially in applying the descriptive linguistics to CA language. I hope I have been able to make good use of his expert linguistic knowledge and invaluable suggestions; where I have failed, the responsibility is mine.

I would also like to thank Professor J. Carnochan, who was my first supervisor, for the kind help and guidance he has given me in the early stages of my study.

I would like to express my thanks to all my friends and colleagues who were kind enough to give much of their time to discuss various aspects relating to CA structure of modification. Special thanks are due to Dr. S.M. El-Sheikh, Dr. A.H. El-RabbaT, Dr. A.M. Yahya, Dr. A. El-Saffar, Mr. A. Salama, Mr. A. Shiha and Mr. A. Sha'bān.

I would like to record that I am greatly indebted to Al-Azhar University, the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education and the Egyptian Education Bureau in London. Suffice it to say that they contributed to my scholarship by supporting me to the end of this work and thus made it possible for me to read for the degree of Ph.D in the United Kingdom.

Finally, my sincere thanks to my family who have always encouraged me and created a suitable atmosphere for me.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank Mrs. Sylvia Greenwood for taking great pains in typing this thesis.

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## INTRODUCTION

## Purpose and Justification

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyse, the structure of modification in nominal phrases in Classical Arabic and to investigate the semantic and syntactic types which are associated with the modificatory relation. Also to demonstrate the morphological, semantic and syntactic features on which the structural configuration of a nominal phrase is based and by which the term modification operates. This thesis is, to the best of my knowledge, the first attempt to study modification in nominal phrases in classical Arabic, especially on the semantic and syntactic levels. The description and analysis are based mainly, particularly in Chapters IV and VII, on the ideas expressed in descriptive linguistics in contrast with prescriptive grammar which has been traditionally employed for Classical Arabic. The aspects of descriptive linguistics which are most relevant to our present study are the fact of linguistic usage as they are, and not how they ought to be.

In describing modification, the main points we focussed attention on are: (i) the structural relationships expressed by the elements of the nominal phrase types at the linear level, (ii) the inter-relationship between semantic and syntax in modificatory structure, (iii) the semantic and syntactic function of the modifiers, (iv) morphological and syntactic classes of modifiers, (v) the immediate constituent structure of modification consists of an obligatory element (head) and optional element (modifier)

and (vi) the function of focus by word order change in the Noun phrase.

The modificatory types of nominal phrases in SA and the semantic and syntactic relationships between the modified noun and modifying element have been to the best of my knowledge, dealt with partially<sup>(1)</sup> or differently.<sup>(2)</sup> Even in the prescriptive grammar, the Arab grammarians and Westerners in modern times have relied heavily on the study of the mediaeval CA grammarians about the relationships obtained in nominal phrases, with almost no critical addition.

The work of the writer, in applying the traditional Arab and European linguistic methods in describing the nominal phrase in CA, should be regarded as an initiatory step in this interesting area.

#### The structure to be investigated

To determine the description and analysis of the structure of nominal phrases in CA, in which Modification operates, a common denominator which relates the members of structure in a modificatory relationship is drawn by

- 
- (1) See, for instance, Qafisheh, M., English pre-Nominal Modifiers and Corresponding Modern Standard Arabic Structures, the University of Michigan, Ph.D., 1968. See also Cantarino, V., Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose, Vol. II, pp.5-155.
- (2) See Beeston, A.F.L. The Arabic Language Today, London, Hutchinson University Library, 1970, pp.34-62.

the structural feature of an NP; that is, it has basically an obligatory element of structure (Head) to which the modification is made and an optional element by which the modification is fulfilled. This primary classification is based on syntactic and semantic grounds since at both levels the element H is independent and the element M is dependent. Grammatical function is a further clue which enables us to recognize the element of structure as an item of modification in a given stretch of a nominal group, where the structure is syntactically built up of modificatory items for various semantic considerations, and that its performance is linguistically designed as one functional unit in a larger structure. At the level of structure, the modificatory classification falls into four main types: premodifier, postmodifier, variable and invariable. At the level of occurrence, they occur in simple or complex nominal phrases.

Thus:

1a) /wa igtasilī bi al-mā?/

'and wash yourself by water'

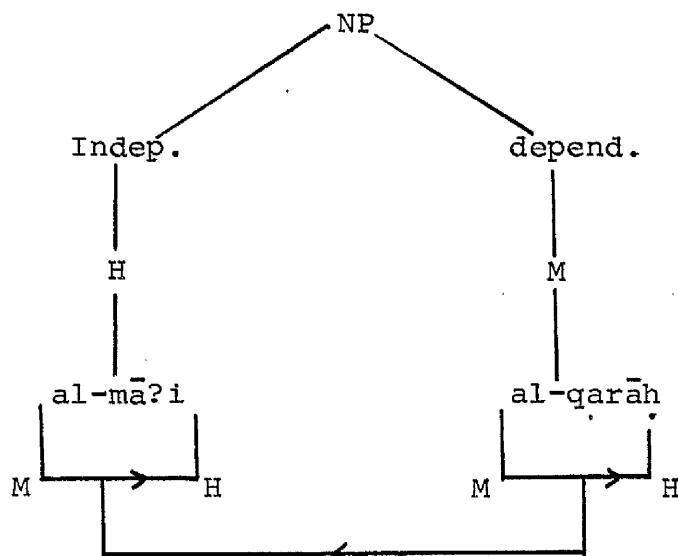
1b) /wa igtasilī bi al-mā?i al-qarāh/

'and wash yourself by pure water'

Disregarding the article al- in (b) the nominal phrase has two elements of structure: al-mā?i and al-qarāh associated for modification and restriction, but not in (a) where the word al-mā? is not modified. Again in (b) the nominal phrase consists of an independent element



(al-mā?) and dependent element (al-qarāh), giving its meaning by collocation rather than as an individual item. This gives the following diagram of structure:



and

2a) /qabaDtu al-māl/

'I took the money'

2b) /qabaDtu kulla al-māl/

'I took all the money'

2c) /qabaDtu al-māla kullahu/

'I took the money, all of it'

where the grammatical structure as far as modification is concerned is exemplified by the underlined stretches of the sentences.<sup>(1)</sup> In this way, in (a), the underlined nominal phrase has a structure of two places, these places are

---

(1) See Berry, M. Introduction to Systemic Linguistics, Structures and Systems, vol. I, p.65.

occupied by the element modifier (al-) and the head noun (māl). In (b), the nominal phrase has a structure of three places, these places are filled by two occurrences of the element modifier (kull and al-) and one occurrence of the element head (māl). In (c) the nominal phrase has a structure of four places, these places are furnished successively by the element modifier (al-), the head (māl), the modifier (kull) and the coterminous pronoun suffix (-hu). Having given illustrations of the head noun which is the essential word in a nominal phrase structure and the modifier or modifiers in a nominal phrase structure, we can say that a modifier is a word which modifies the head noun and which occurs before the head as in (a and b) or after the head as in (c) under specific conditions.

Here we could perhaps distinguish between what we might call 'marked structures' and what we might call unmarked structures. The word unmarked is used where the elements of structure occur one after another in a sequence as in (a) and (b). The word marked is given to a structure where the modifier is transposed for focus considerations as in (c). However, although (c) is a transposed structure of (a), it is a necessary condition that it should involve a modifying quantifier (kull) which we may say is present for contrasting information.

The structural diagrams for these examples are shown in the following figures:

Figure 1: Structural diagram showing the functions and places of the NP

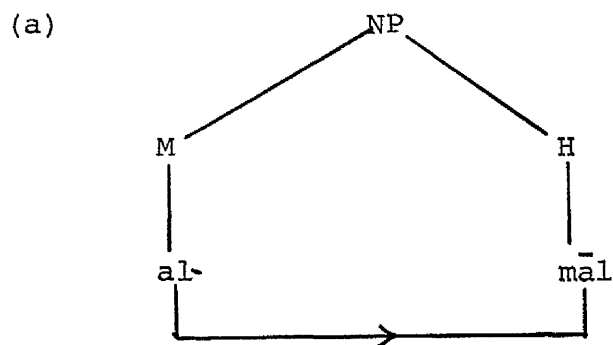


Figure 2: Structural diagram showing layers, functions and places of the members of the NP

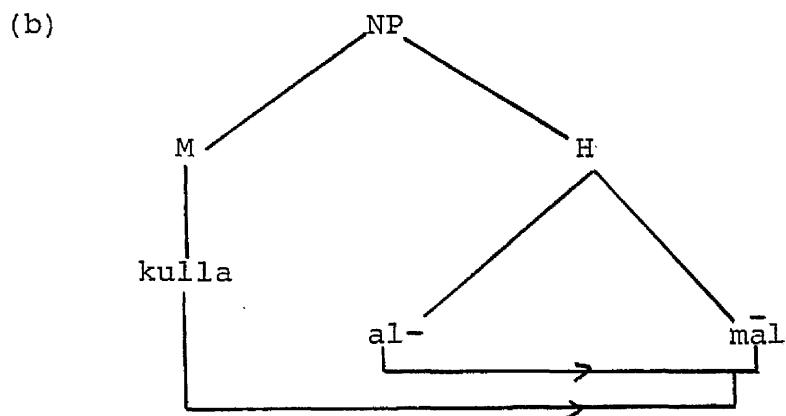
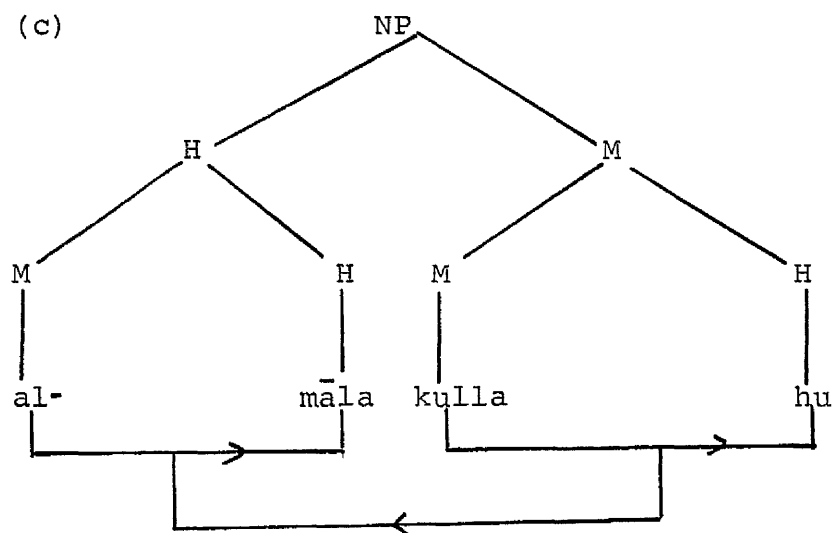


Figure 3: Structural diagram showing layers, functions and places of the elements of the NP (transposed)

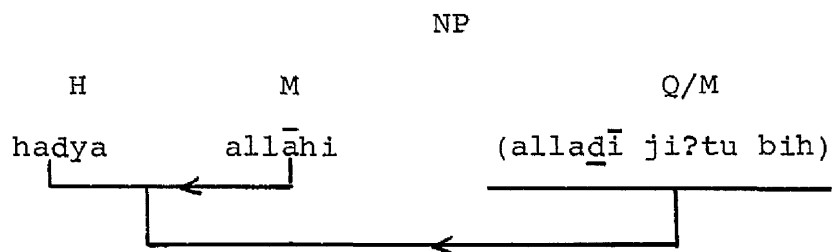


The above diagrams quite straightforwardly show the relationship between one item and another on a hierarchical scale. We may contrast examples where they include among their constituents a relative clause which has been moved down the hierarchical scale of rank from sentence to phrase and which functions as a modificatory single word. This may be represented by:

/wa lam yaqbal hadya allāhi alladī ji?tu bih/

'and he did not follow the Islamic way which I have been chosen by Allāh to'

In this sentence the relative clause (alladī ji?tu bih) is, from the structural point of view, a clause. But it functions as a single element. It acts also as a qualifying modifier of the head noun (hadya allāh). Also it is a clause which has been rankshifted. So, this example is analysable as follows:



The structural relationship holding between the members of the nominal phrases above is stated on the basis of semantic and syntactic factors. Accordingly each member has its function in a string of elements whatever the number of the elements within one linguistic area.

Thus in:-

H

/ʔasā rabbuhu ʔin Tallaqakunn ʔan yubdilahu ʔazwājan

M<sup>1</sup>                      M<sup>2</sup>                      M<sup>3</sup>                      M<sup>4</sup>                      M<sup>5</sup>

xayran minkunna muslimātin muʔminātin gānitātin tāʔibātin

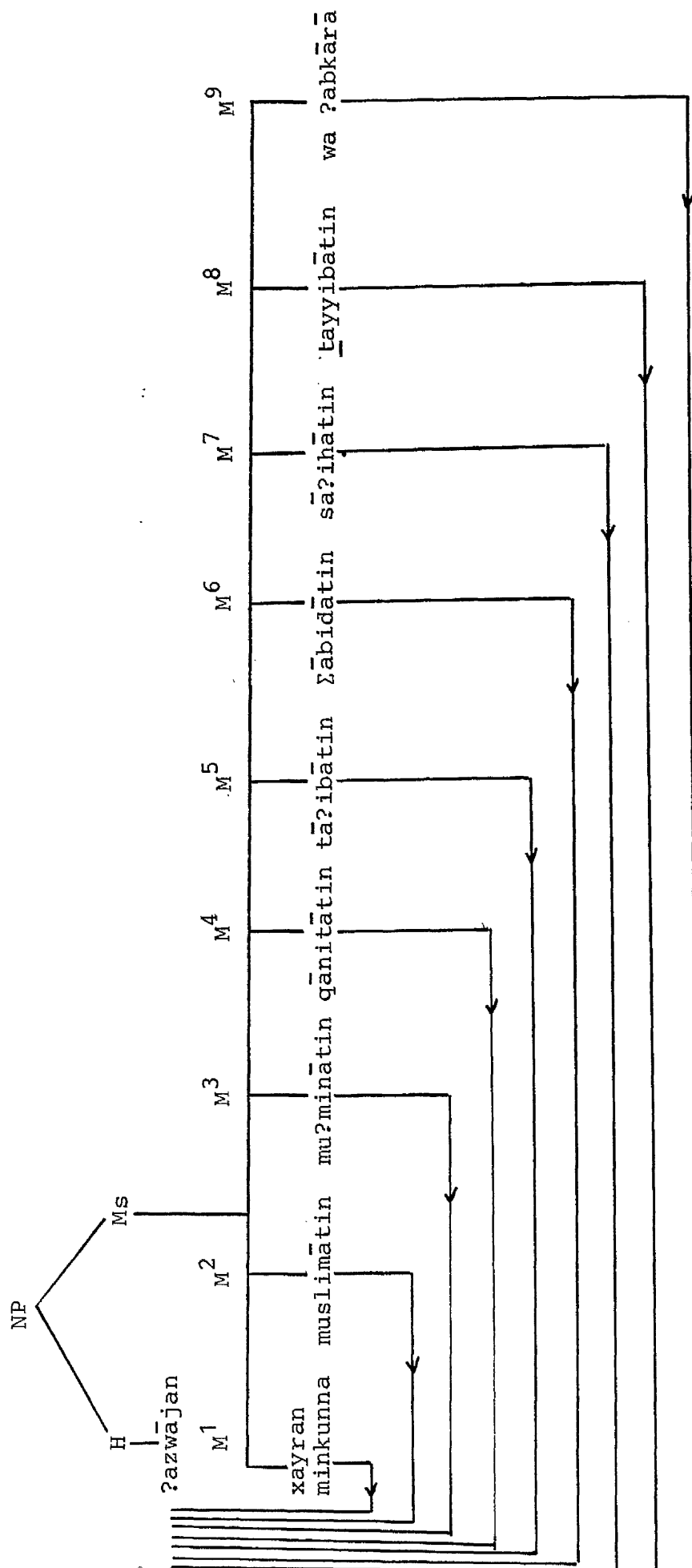
M<sup>6</sup>                      M<sup>7</sup>                      M<sup>8</sup>                      M<sup>9</sup>

ʔābidātin sāʔihātin tayyibātin wa ʔabkārā/

'(O wives of the prophet!) were he to divorce (any of) you, God might well give him in your stead spouses better than you - women who surrender themselves unto God, who truly believe, devoutly obey his will, turn (unto Him) in repentance (whenever they have sinned), worship (Him alone), and go on and on (seeking His goodly acceptance) - be they women previously married or virgins,'<sup>(1)</sup>

The element ʔazwājan has the syntactic characteristics of a head, since it is syntactically independent and semantically can be said to have modifiers which put restriction on its general meaning, whereas the remaining elements have the characteristics of modifiers of an indefinite head noun in a mutual correspondence. They state all the characteristic qualities by which the head noun is identified. Each element represents a special meaning in a chain of elements, which are in fact one body of modification, to the head noun. However, in the nominal phrases, it is necessary to take into account the unusual order of the elements of a structure as well as the usual order. The former is referred to as the marked structure, since it runs counter to our expectancy, whereas the latter is unmarked. A diagram is given below to show the structural relationships of the last example:

(1) Asad, M. The Message of The Qur'ān, Dar al-Andalus Ltd., 1980, p.876, verse 5.



There are further structural features which allow us to distinguish different types of modification. These characteristics and other structurally related features are investigated in the light of Modern European analytical methods and Traditional grammatical Arabic thought. Special reference is made to Halliday, Quirk, Chafe and Francis on whom we rely in the description of the structure of modification in English nominal phrases.

The terms pre-position and post-position which are graphically marked by dashes are used for the position of an element. The designation of these two terms is essential for the distinction between these as conventional terms and the terms preposition and postposition (without dashes) which designate word classes. Thus, the former are used for the position and the latter are used for the element.

### Language

The language treated in this thesis is Classical Arabic (abbreviated to CA throughout). The term classical Arabic is used to cover the classical Arabic of medieval time and also the language of the Qur'ān and pre-Islamic literature. It also embraces the language of some contemporary writers whose work has kept in line with the characteristic morphological, grammatical and syntactic features of the old texts, which we might call Modern Classical Arabic. The difference between the ancient and modern texts is only one of style

and period since CA can be produced even today by those who have mastered the three linguistic axes of morphology, syntax and semantics of the language.

Furthermore, the same grammatical mistakes which occur in the contemporary works were also known to occur in the pre-Islamic and medieval times in the speech of peninsular Arabs.<sup>(1)</sup> The use of the term classical with reference to Arabic by other writers is often purely chronological and relates only to the period in which the text occurred. The present writer uses the term to signify any text of whatever period which follows the morphological, phonological and syntactic rules observed in old classical texts.

#### The Data

The data which forms the basis of this study has been taken from various sources of CA: The Holy Qur'ān, the Prophetic Tradition (Ḥadīth), the speech of some of the prophet's companions, other old texts such as of al-jāhīd (al-bayānu wa al-tabyīn), a number of new texts in what is essentially classical written by writers such as Ṭaha Ḥusain, Aḥmad Al-Baqūri, and examples from grammar textbooks.

Even with regard to classical examples given in grammar books there is sometimes disagreement between scholars as to the acceptability of particular structures. However,

---

(1) See 'ATTār, A.A., al-Sihāhu wa madārisu al-muʿjamāti al-ʿarabiyyah, Cairo, 1956, pp.27-35.



in the choice of material here the final criterion has been always my own judgement as a speaker, writer and reader of classical. In addition the data for the thesis was often checked against the knowledge of fellow researchers well versed in CA who are referred to in the acknowledgement.

### Translation

The translation of the Quranic quotations are from M. Asad. In the translation of the prophetic tradition as well as the other examples, the translations are mine. All examples are given in the notation system listed below on p.15-17. But names of people and places are given in the transliteration system normal for Arabic except for some words which have Anglicized forms (like Mecca), this is used.

### Symbols and Abbreviations

CA	Classical Arabic
SA	Standard Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
Def.	Definite
Indef.	Indefinite
-n	nunation
dem.	demonstrative
N.	Noun
NP	Nominal phrase
NPs	Nominal phrases
S	Sentence
st.	structure

sub.	subject
pred.	predicate
masc., (M)	masculine
fem., (f.)	feminine
adv.	adverb
adj.	adjective
sing.	singular
plu., pl.	plural
quant.	quantifier
gen.	genitive
J.L.	Journal of Linguistics
Nom.	Nominative
Q.	qualifier
p., prep.	preposition
PP	prepositional phrase
pro.	pronoun
Ap	Appositive
ApM	Appositive modifier
ANP	Appositive nominal phrase
SWH	Substituted word head
H	Head
M., Mod.	Modifier
Ms	Modifiers
Comp.	Comparative
Sup.	Superlative
Aux.	Auxiliary
Num.	Number
Card.	Cardinal

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Ordin.	Ordinal
RA	Relative adjective
CRA	Classifier-relative adjective
IRA	Identifier-relative adjective
R	Restrictive
NR	Non-restrictive
Coord.	Coordinator
partic.	particle, participle
spec.	specific
Trans.	Transposition
morph.	morpheme
∅	zero
(     )	underlying element
<span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 50px; height: 15px; vertical-align: middle;"></span>	ellipted element
x	someone
*	for unacceptable structure
>	followed by

### Transcription

The transcription system used here is a broad reading transcription. It is shown in the following symbols where each symbol is given a brief description

#### Vowels

a	a short, open, vowel
ā	a long, open, vowel
i	a short, front, unrounded vowel between close and half open

ī	a long, close, unrounded, front vowel
u	a short, back, rounded vowel between close and half open
ū	a long, close, rounded, back vowel
o	a short, half-open back rounded vowel

#### Consonants

ʔ	glottal stop
b	voiced, bilabial plosive
t d	voiceless and voiced denti-alveolar plosives
t̪ d̪	voiceless and voiced interdental fricative
j ɟ	voiced and voiceless alveo-palatal fricatives
ħ ʕ	voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives
x ɣ	voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives
r	voiced apical trill
z s	voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives
f	voiced labio-dental fricative
q	voiceless uvular plosive
k	voiceless velar plosive
l <sup>(1)</sup>	voiced apical lateral
m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced denti-alveolar nasal
h	voiceless laryngeal fricative

---

(1) Except in a few cases, where /l/ has dark quality when it occurs in the name of God 'Allāh' following a word which ends with the vowel (a) or (u), and when (l) occurs immediately after an emphatic letter.

17

w	labio-velar semi-vowel
y	palatal semi-vowel

#### Emphatics

S	pharyngealized voiceless alveolar fricative
D	pharyngealized voiced denti-alveolar fricative
T	pharyngealized voiceless denti-alveolar stop
<u>D</u>	pharyngealized voiced inter-dental fricative

These phonemes are the correspondents of the unemphatic  
s, d, t and z respectively.

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## CHAPTER I

### DEICTICS

#### Introductory:

In this chapter, we will attempt to describe three kinds of modifier under the general label 'Deictics' viz. demonstratives, definite article and pronouns. The common grounds that set these three kinds together is that the reference of each is one of deictic. The term 'Deictic' is used more or less in accordance with the following two quotations.

"This particularization of meaning can take place in at least the following ways:  
... Context indicates the referents of certain types of word we call DEICTIC (this, that, here, there, now, then, etc.), and of other expressions of definite meaning such as John, I, you, he, it, the man."(1)

"The first place in the structure of modifier is occupied by the word class known as 'deictics', consisting more delicately of three sub-classes of which one contains the items 'the', 'a', 'this', 'that', the personal deictics 'his', 'here', etc., and certain other words."(2)

Similarly, CA demonstratives, the definite article 'the' and the indefinite marker (-n 'nunation') are one part of 'deictics'. The demonstratives and definite

- 
- (1) See Leech, G., Semantics, Penguin Books, 1974, p.77.  
See also Lyons, J., Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, C.U.P., 1968, p.275.
- (2) See Halliday, M.A.K. et al., Patterns of Language, Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics, Longmans, 1966, p.58.

article are identical in function (i.e. determiners) and in relation with the head noun (i.e. modifiers). In this way, the description will be given to each term separately to which an attempt will be made to delimit the range of the nominal phrase type involved.

(1) The demonstratives as a modifier

Before the description proceeds with 'the demonstratives as a modifier, a quotation regarding the concept of 'demonstratives' is given to demonstrate that the term 'demonstrative' is used here in the same sense and character as that stated by Quirk for English demonstratives'. "The demonstratives have number contrast and can function both as determiners and pronouns. The general meanings of the two sets can be stated as 'near' and 'distant' reference." (1)

Similarly, C.A. demonstratives can be briefly represented as follows:

	1) near reference	2) distant reference
a) singular	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hādā(m)} \\ \text{hādihi(f)} \end{array} \right\} \text{'this'}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dālika(m)} \\ \text{tilka(f)} \end{array} \right\} \text{'that'}$
b) dual	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hādāni(m)} \\ \text{hātāni(f)} \end{array} \right\} \text{'these two'}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dālikumā(m)} \\ \text{tilkumā(f)} \end{array} \right\} \text{'these two'}$

---

(1) See Quirk et al., A University Grammar of English, 1973, p.107.

c) plural: hāʔulāʔi(m/f) 'these' ʔūlāʔika 'those'

However, although demonstratives are variable in form, they are identical to the head noun they modify in form and in case status, whether they precede or follow the head. Thence syntactically they represent their head. In other words, demonstratives are here dependent, since they are governed by the following noun, and the governed word should be the modifier. That is to say, since the demonstrative has various forms, and the choice between these is determined by the syntactic or semantic properties of the following noun, we can say that the noun governs the demonstrative, and therefore the demonstrative depends on the noun, as its modifier, e.g. hāda al-rajul 'this man', hādāni al-rajulān 'these two men', and hāʔulāʔi al-qawm 'these people'. The obvious illustration in the nominal phrase is the choice between hādā/hādihi and hāʔulāʔi, or between dālika/tilka and ʔulāʔik, or hādāni and hātān, which is controlled by the number and gender of the following noun e.g. al-rajul takes hāda or dālika rather than the others. Thus, if hāda or dālika is governed by the noun, it should follow that the latter is head and the former its modifier. However, the head noun is always prefixed by al-. Moreover, the demonstratives and the definite article al- are sets of closed systems.<sup>(1)</sup> The latter is graphically invariable in form but has phonologically various realizations (see below).

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(1) Quirk et al., ibid., p.19.

It is relevant to point out here that there is a set of demonstratives whose meaning is said to refer to the nearer of two objects,<sup>(1)</sup> in which case the demonstrative is represented without the so-called lāmu al-buʔd 'the -l- of distance', such as ḏāka 'that', ḏānika, tānika 'those two', etc.

There is another set of demonstratives whose meaning can also be stated as 'near' and 'distant' reference, and further they are considered as locative adverbs, e.g. hunā 'here', hunāka, hunālika and ṭamma 'there'.

Whatever be the reference, demonstratives have a constant relationship with the noun they refer to, i.e. they are determiners and have definite meaning by nature.

Examples:

- a) /qad ʔaʕjabatnī hāḏihi al-ʔarD/  
'I admired this land'
- b) /bal qul mā rahīlī ʕan ʔarDin fīha hāḏihi al-fataḥ/  
'No, to tell the truth you should say that I am not leaving (this country because of this girl'.
- c) /wa lākinnī muqīmūn lan ʔabraḥa hāḏihi al-ʔarDa  
wa lan ʔataḥawwala ʕan hāḏihi al-dār/  
'And but I am staying here and I will not leave this country, and also I will not move from this house'

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(1) See Wright, W., A Grammar of <sup>the</sup> Arabic Language, C.U.P., 1971, vol. II, p.267. See also Ḥasan, A., Al-nahwu al-wafī, (A Comprehensive Arabic Grammar), vol. 1, Dāru-al-maʕarif, Cairo, 1971, p.331.

- d) /wa xalā ʿabdu allāhi ibnu judʿāna masāʿa dālīka  
al-yawmi ʿilā gulāmīhi dāka al-rūmiyy/  
'And ʿAbd allah ibn judʿān was free to talk to his  
Byzantine boy at the evening of that day'.
- e) /... fī tilka al-ʿuṣūr/  
'at those Ages'
- f) /ʿalqā fī rūṣī ʿulāʿika al-nās/  
'He frightened those people'.

However, from the structural configuration of nominal phrases including a demonstrative element, we notice that:

- a) the demonstratives occupy usually the first place in the structure of an NP by the virtue of the word order of the word class known as 'deictics' followed by a noun with the article al-'the', as in wa hādīhi al-dawābbu allatī taqaʿu fi al-nāri...'and these butterflies which fall into fire...', and in the second position when the preceding noun appended by the possessive pronoun, as in laʿallī lā ʿalqakum baʿda ʿāmī hādā 'I may not see you after this year'.
- b) The nominal phrase is made by (1) demonstrative + al + noun, (2) or noun + pronominal suffix + demonstrative.
- c) The demonstrative may be placed after a noun with the article al- for adjectival function, as in al-fatātu hādīhi 'this girl'.
- d) A distinction can be drawn, when a nominal phrase involves a demonstrative in syntagmatic relations, between

a linear sequence of classes such as demonstratives followed or preceded by a noun and a non-linear configuration of function such as modifier-head relations which are adopted throughout this thesis (quotation is given on this point, see Chapter II below).

e) In more delicate terms, similar to English CA demonstratives as well as the definite article *al-* 'the' are elements of 'deictics' which are contextually expressed to identify the head noun involved. To put it in Halliday's terms,

"The contextual function of deictics is to identify, and among them 'the' is unmarked and specific: that is, its function is to identify a specific subset but to do so by reference to something other than itself; unlike 'his' or 'that', 'the' carries no power of identification but indicates that something else present does. This 'something else' may be either (1) in the M/Q elements of the nominal group, (2) in the context, linguistic or situational, or (3) in the head of the nominal group itself." (1)

By the above characteristics, demonstratives are assigned as a modifier in a given NP in which, as illustrated above, the demonstrative can be used in pre-head position and post-head position. Each representation is syntactically constrained. So structurally, the demonstratives have their relations with the headnoun as a premodifier or postmodifier.

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(1) Halliday et al., Patterns of Language..., op.cit., p.58.

More illustrations:

Set I

- a) /hā<sup>M</sup>dā al-ʔamru ʔala habli dīrā<sup>H</sup>ʔik/  
 'This matter in your hand' (i.e. easy)
- b) /mā fi buTūni hā<sup>M</sup>dīhi al-ʔanʔā<sup>H</sup>mī/  
 'All that is in the wombs of such-and-such cattle...'(1)
- c) /wa galayānu tilka al-marā<sup>M</sup>jili al-fā<sup>H</sup>ʔirati wa  
 tasa<sup>M</sup>ʔʔuru tilka al-nī<sup>H</sup>rāni al-muDTarimah/  
 lit. 'and the boiling of those uproar cooking kettles  
 and the blazing of those burning fires'
- d) /wa lā siyyamā hā<sup>M</sup>tayni al-ʔummatayni al-xā<sup>H</sup>līdatayn/  
 'and especially these two unforgettable nations'
- e) /... fayasta<sup>M</sup>dhīrahu hā<sup>H</sup>ʔulāʔi al-Tullābu isti<sup>H</sup>dhātā/  
 'And those students learn it by heart'

Set II

- a) /wa lākinnī jāladtukum bisayfī hādā/  
 'But I fought you with this sword of mine'
- b) /faʔamsik ʔalayka hurriyyataka hādīh /  
 'Keep this freedom of yours'
- c) /wa ʔan ʔasfārihi tilka al-katīrah/  
 'And about those (that) many trips of his'
- d) /mā raʔaytu kaḡulāmika hādā/  
 'I did not see like this boy of yours'

---

(1) Asad, M., The message of The Qur'ān, 1980, p.195, verse 139.

e) /wa hum ʕalā ḥālihīm tilk/

'And they were on that state'

The above two sets of examples represent two ways of sequential classes by which 'demonstratives' as deictics function: premodifier, as in set (I) and postmodifier, as in set (II).

#### Demonstrative references within the context

Demonstratives have been illustrated above as forms of pointing. They are identified by location on a scale of proximity. Here demonstratives indicate references, other than location. These references are interpreted in three distinct terms: 'cataphoric', 'anaphoric', and 'exophoric'. All these distinctions are contextually assigned, in that each term is used to refer to the process of a demonstrative referring deictically to a modifying element in the context. In this case there are again three possibilities forward reference, backward reference, and reference to current situation, with cataphoric, anaphoric and exophoric functions respectively. These can be illustrated by the following examples.

1 - Cataphoric:

a) /wa kaḏālik ʔaʕbaha al-ʔamru bayna ḥādayni  
al-rafiqayni ʔamran ʕajabā/

'likewise the situation became amazing between  
 these two companions'



- b) /wa ʔinnī lā ʔaʕrifu fī bilādi al-ʕarabi haraman  
 gayra hādā al-ḥaram/  
 'And I do not know that there is a Holy place  
 except this one'
- c) /wa kāna hāʔulāʔi al-fityatu al-talātatu qad  
 xarajū min dārihim/  
 'And these three boys have went out from their  
 house'
- d) /dālika al-kitābu lārayba fīh/  
 'THIS DIVINE WRIT - let there be no doubt about it'
- e) /qad ʔaqbala wa maʕahu ʔamīratuhu tilka al-fatātu  
 al-ḥabaṣiyyah/  
 'He came with his princess, that Ethiopian girl'
- g) /fakāna ʔulāʔika al-sabābu min qurays/  
 'And those boys were from Quraish'

The point to be mentioned here: demonstrative  
 occurs frequently with cataphoric function in C.A.

## 2 - Anaphoric:

- a) /wa huwa ʔinnamā xalā ʔila gunaymātihi tilka.../  
 'And he was only engaged with those (that) sheep'
- b) /wa yanSarifu al-fatā ʕan makānihi dāka.../  
 'And the boy has left that place of his...'
- c) /wa lam yadrī al-fatā ʔaTāla wuqūfuhu dālika  
 al-ḥāʔiru ʔam qaSur/  
 'And the boy did not know how long that hesitant  
 standing of his lasted'

- d) /tumma uxruj faqsus ru?yāka hādihi.../
- 'Then go out and tell this story of yours'
- e) /wa law qad ?arsala Tabṣahu Ṣalā sajiyyatihi laqāla  
kamā samiṢa baṢDa ?ūlā?ika al-rahTi. yaqūlu  
liṢabdi allāhi ibni masṢūdin fī Sawtin taḥtabisu  
fīhi al-zafarātu: ?innī wallāhi lā ?uḥibbu ?an  
?akūna min hā?ulā?/
- 'And if he was left to his nature he would say as  
he heard from some of these people. He said to  
'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ūd in a voice with deep sighs.  
I swear by Allāh that I would like to be one of those  
people'
- g) /qāla ?abū ḥuḍayfata: faqad Sabawta ?iḍan Ṣan ?ālihati  
?ābā?ika ?ilā ?ilāhi al-naṢarā ?aw al-yahūdi? qāla  
al-fatā: laqad laqītu ?ūlā?ika wa hā?ulā?i waisamiṢtu  
minhum wa lam ?afham Ṣanhum wa lam ?uḥāwil  
li?ahādītihim fahmā/
- 'Abu ḥuḍaifah said: "You have turned to the Christian  
or Jewish religion, leaving the religion of your  
forefathers". The boy answered: "I met those  
(Christians) and those (Jews) and I heard them but  
I did not try to understand their talk'

It is worth mentioning that a demonstrative with textual  
reference in such cases carries the tonic, depending on  
the meaning intended. The tonicity gives the nominal  
phrase contrastive implication, i.e. it draws attention  
to the new information, while anaphoric reference draws  
it to the NP.

### 3 - Exophoric:

- a) /Daṣā hādā al-ʔamra kayfa siʔtumā/  
'Put this matter wherever you like'
- b) /lan ʔataḥawwala ṣan hādihi al-dār/  
'I will not move from this house'
- c) /unDur ʔilā hādā al-rajuli al-muqbili ṣala ḥāʔiTina/  
'Look at that man who is coming to our garden'
- d) /...hattā tunzaṣa min janbihi hādihi al-sawkah/  
'Until this prickly would be got rid of from his side'
- e) /mā raʔaytuhu hādā al-Sabāḥ/  
'I did not see him this morning'
- g) /wa inkasafat al-samsu fī dālika al-yawm/  
'And the sun eclipsed in that day'

An explanation of applying the linguistic terms illustrated above to Arabic consists of the fact that demonstratives in text, and particularly in context of situation have specific references. These are fully specified by the context. Thus, cataphoric and anaphoric uses of demonstratives are readily interpretable, if we relate them to textual references, as in (1) and (2), in contrast with the exophoric use which refers to current time that is interpretable if we refer to an object within the context of situation, as in (3).

#### (ii) The definite article and its function

##### Definition v. indefinition

Introduction: In this section, we are going to identify and describe the definite article al - 'the', and the

indefinite marker (-n) 'nunation'. The object is to explore the relation of definition accorded to a specific item via the definite article al-, its manifestation, and exponents in contradistinction to the indefinite marker referred to here as (-n).

A) The article in Arabic is graphically represented by the prefix morpheme al - 'the', which may have distinct phonetic realizations.

- 1) al-, as in al-kitāb 'the book'
- 2) l-, as in qaraʔtu l-kitāb 'I read the book'
- 3) /a/ followed by the identical consonant to the first consonant of the prefixed word, as in as-sams 'the sun'.
- 4) a morpheme identical to the first consonant of the following word, as in xaraja r-rajul 'the man went out'.

Structurally speaking, (1) and (3) occur at the beginning of a linguistic structure in which the former precedes the so-called al-ḥurūfu al-qamariyyah 'the moon letters':

ʔ, b, j, ḥ, x, ʕ, g, f, q, k, l, m, h, w, y, and the latter precedes al-ḥurūfu al-samsiyyah 'the sun letters': t, ṭ, d, ḍ, r, z, s, ṣ, Ṣ, D, T, Ḍ, n. (2) and (4) which are other realisations of (1) and (3) respectively occur within a linguistic structure.

For the sake of simplicity the above phonetic facts are ignored in the notations, and the definite article is always represented as al-. The following section shows the

correspondence of our notation with the phonetics. Note also that our notation corresponds to the system of the Arabic script.

	Oür Notation and Arabic Orthography	Phonetics
with moon letters	(1) al-bāb 'the door'	{ al-bābu...
		{ ...l-bāb
	(2) al-ḥarb 'the war'	{ al-ḥarbu
		{ ...l-ḥarb
	(3) al-qamar 'the moon'	{ al-qamaru
		{ ...l-qamar
with sun letters	(1) al-taʔr 'the retaliation'	{ at-taʔru...
		{ ...t-taʔr
	(2) al-Tālib 'the student'	{ aT-Tālibu...
		{ ...T-Tālib
	(3) al-nās 'the people'	{ an-nāsu...
		{ ...n-nās

The prefixed article (al-) belongs to a special class of function words, which combine with all nouns and adjectives, except singular proper nouns (for the exception of the proper nouns occurring with the definite article, see

below, p.40 ). The article as a grammatical unit which belongs to closed-system items has its different form, as illustrated above. To quote,

"like all grammatical units, the morpheme is an element of 'form', 'arbitrarily' related to its 'substantial' realisation on the phonological (or orthographical) level of the language." (1)

The point to be mentioned in this connection is that, contrary to SA usage, the article in CA with verbal nouns (abstract nouns) which are formed from the verb of five or six consonants has two realisations (al-) and (l-) followed by an anaptyctic vowel (i) which occurs for phonological reasons. Since (hamzatu al-waSl) 'the conjunctive 'hamzah' in the verbal noun involved is being omitted for morphological consideration, i.e. the word 'ittiḥād in alittiḥād 'the union' and ?ila littiḥād 'to the union' has lost the initial hamzah which is replaced by an anaptyctic vowel.

On this point, Beeston states that the (l-), in a word which already begins with cc, must be prefixed to the post-pausal form. To represent his view in SA usage, he considers that the form ttiḥād 'union' has a post-pausal form 'ittiḥād 'union' to which the article (l-) must be prefixed, hence l'ittiḥād 'the union' or as he puts it,

"...the Arabic marker is a morpheme with positionally determined varieties: lengthening of the initial consonant where this is a lingual (ssana) 'the year'), a prefixed l if the initial

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(1) Lyons, J., Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, op.cit., p.184.

consonant is anything else (lqarya 'the village'); in the case of a word which already begins with cc or c̄, the l must be prefixed to the post-pausal form (ttiḥād 'union' has the post-pausal form 'ittiḥād; hence l'ittiḥād 'the union')."(1)

However, realising the conjunctive hamzah (') in l'ittiḥād violates the Arabic morphological rules, these rules can be briefly expounded as follows: in a word like 'ittiḥād, the (') which is referred to above, hamzatu al-waṣl is always realised at the beginning of an utterance, but if it occurs within word-junction it must be deleted.(2) Therefore, the statement given by Wright agrees with that of the Arab grammarians who consider that the realization of (') in word-junction is inaccurate and grammatically unacceptable. Wright says:

"In more modern Arabic the elision of the 'elif conjunction is neglected, especially after the article, as baḍda ?inqiraDihim bi?sa al-?ismu, ?ilā al-?inqiraDi, al-?iqtidaru; but the grammarians brand this as xurūjun ʿan kalāmi al-ʿarabi wa laḥnun faḥisun."(3)

To summarize, the occurrence of (') in the word l'ittiḥād is grammatically neglected, since it must be, according to morphological rules, deleted, if in a constituent of word-junction. As a result of this elision, the word should be pronounced without (') and written as follows:

- 
- (1) See Beeston, A.F.L., The Arabic Language Today, Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., London, 1970, p.37.
  - (2) 'Omar, Y.H., Kitabu al-Sarf, 'The book of morphology', maktabatu al-ʿadāb, Cairo, 1949, p.29.
  - (3) Wright, W., A Grammar of the Arabic Language, vol. I, 1967, p.20. Note that the examples given in this quotation are Wright's, and the transcription is mine.

alittiḥād or littiḥād. Each representation is constitutionally and positionally formed. So, in examples like the following, the phonetic modification of al- and the verbal noun is necessary to produce this structural pattern.

Consider:

al + 'ittikāl	>	{	alittikāl	'the reliance'
			...littikāl	
al + 'inTilāq	>	{	alinTilāq	'the outbreak'
			...linTilāq	
al + 'istigfār	>	{	alistigfār	'to ask for forgiveness'
			listigfār	

Turning back to our previous description of the morpheme al- which has in prefixation four different phonological shapes, each of these alternates appears under certain conditions, as illustrated above. In addition, al- may have two more forms with the anaptyctic vowel, as the above examples show. So phonologically, we have various representations for the morpheme al-. To quote on this point,

"..., morphemes may be represented directly by phonological (or orthographical segments with particular 'shape' (that is, by morphs), but they may also be represented in the substance of the language in other ways." (1)

---

(1) Lyons, J., Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, op.cit., p.184. See also Francis, The Structure of American English, 1958, p.175.



Again the article al- has a syntactic function but it does not have a lexical meaning of its own. That is to say, words like Dayf 'a guest', or rajul 'a man' or hajj 'a pilgrimage' have a lexical meaning of their own and belong to an open-class of items, whereas the article al- is one of a closed-class of words.

The presence of the definite article al- is mutually exclusive with the presence of (-n) which occurs after a short vowel and indicates the grammatical feature 'indefiniteness' in C.A. Thus the option to use one of them in a given element excludes the possibility of using the other. So admittedly, one can have either al-Sadīqu 'the friend' or Sadīqun 'a friend' but not \*al-Sadīqun 'the a friend'. Or as Quirk puts it for English,

"The items are said to constitute a system in being (i) reciprocally exclusive: the decision to use one item in a given structure excludes the possibility of using any other (thus one can have the book or a book but not \*a the book); and (ii) reciprocally defining: it is less easy to state the meaning of any individual item than to define it in relation to the rest of the system." (1)

B) The indefinite marker in C.A. is a morpheme which can be represented by: (-n) 'nunation'. It follows a short variable vowel (i.e. u or a or i), with which it functions to signal the indefinite status of the item in question.

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(1) Quirk et al., A University Grammar..., op.cit., p.19.

However, there are characteristics which modify each realisation:

- (1) (-n) should be suffixed to a common noun: (a) singular  
(b) broken plural, and (c) sound plural feminine e.g.

a) rajulun 'a man'

b) rijālun 'men'

c) banātun 'girls'

- (2) All these realisations follow syntactic markers which are dictated by the function of an element in a given structure, whether these syntactic markers are: (a) a short vowel (i.e. nominative u, or accusative a, or genitive i) before (-n),

a) /wa rajulun ʔaDīmun.../

'And a great man...'

/wa ʔalla al-Sabiyyu yatīman/

'And the boy became an orphan'

/fahiya fī jihādīn muttaṣil/

'And it was in a continuous fight'

In this way of illustration, we give three distinct exponents of indefiniteness: -un, -an, -in, marking the syntactic function and the indefinite status of an element in a given structure respectively.

Furthermore the indefinite marker in CA will be obvious if we hold a contrast between 'nunation' and the indefinite article in English in terms of realisation we see that:

- 1 - The presence of the indefinite article in English

matches the presence of nunation in CA; this is seen only in singular forms.

Consider:

- | English                  | Arabic               |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| a) <u>A</u> friend came  | jāʔa Sadīqun         |
| b) This is a useful book | hāda kitābun mufīdun |

whereas in the plural the absence of the English indefinite is met by the presence of the indefinite marker (nunation) in Arabic.

- | English | Arabic    |
|---------|-----------|
| Tigers  | numūrun   |
| Tables  | mawāʔidun |
| Men     | rijālun   |

(3) As we have said, the definite article al- and the indefinite marker (-n) never occur together in one word.

Compare:

- a) musāfirun 'a traveller'  
but not  
al-musāfirun
- b) kutubun  
books  
but not  
al-kutubun

However, for the sake of simplicity we will use the orthographical use (i.e. al-) throughout this thesis, regardless of their phonetic forms, as we mentioned above.

After showing the phonetic description of definite and indefinite realisations, we proceed to illustrate the

word classes to which both terms can be affixed, and the structural function of al-.

(C) Word classes

In an attempt to show the word classes to which the definite and indefinite can be affixed, we have the following classes:

- (i) common nouns
- (ii) active participle (ismu al-fāʿil)
- (iii) passive participle (ismu al-mafʿūl)
- (iv) adjective
- (v) verbal noun (al-maṣdar)

These five classes are the reliable sources of elements which can be made definite by al-, and given indefinite status without al-, contrary to: (a) proper nouns which never occur with al- since they are definite by nature, and (b) those elements which are used with al- as a proper noun, such as al-yasaʿ, al-lāt, al-ʿuzzā, al-ḥārit, al-qāsim, al-mubārak and al-Daḥḥāk.

The occurrence of al- in these examples does not mark a syntactic function, but it is an integral part of a proper noun, since it is not a cohesive morpheme.

In view of this statement, the definite article and indefinite marker can be seen with:

- a) Count nouns e.g. al-qalamu 'the pen', and qalamun 'a pen' which represent the class meaning of an object occurring in more than one member and cannot be subdivided.

b) Mass nouns e.g. al-māʔu 'the water' and māʔun 'water', their class meaning is a species of object occurring in more than one specimen; therefore it can be subdivided.

c) Abstract nouns e.g. al-saʔādatu 'the happiness', and saʔādatun 'happiness', they have the class meaning of (b).

It is interesting to note that certain words normally take the definite article. These are: (a) names of school subjects al-fiqh, 'Philology', al-naḥw 'Syntax', al-Sarf 'Morphology' and so forth, (b) classes of people al-ʔanSār, al-muhājirūn, al-katabah etc., (c) names of theological schools al-xawārij, al-siʔah, al-murjiʔah, al-muʔtazilah etc., (d) theological names, al-yahūdiyyah, al-masīḥiyyah, al-ʔislām, al-yahūd, al-naSārā, al-muslimūn etc. and (e) national names al-furs, al-rūm, al-ʔarab, al-miSriyyūn.

(D) Traditional functions of al-phrase

According to Arabic traditional syntax, the article al-phrase has three distinguishable functions: particularization, generalization and relativization. Therefore, there are three distinct terms given to the al-phrase: al al-ʔahdiyyah 'the specific article' in which the article is prefixed to singular or plural noun and refers to a particular individual, al al-jinsiyyah 'the generic article' in which it is prefixed to genus, and al al-mawSūlah 'the relative pronoun' in which it is prefixed to participles.

Many of the ideas in this section are due to the Arab grammarians in particular the above three terms, they will however be illustrated in brief as follows:

A) The particularizing function can be seen through three types of structure. Each one has a distinctive semantic reference. The context will indicate which one is represented in any given structure. Consider:

a) /jāʔani rajulun faʔakramtu al-rajul/

'A man came and I honoured the man'

b) /al-yawma ʔakmaltu lakum dīnakum/

'Today have I perfected your religious law for you'.<sup>(1)</sup>

c) /bial-wādī al-muqaddas/

'in the twice hallowed valley'.<sup>(2)</sup>

In (a), the article al- in al-rajul 'the man' refers back to the indefinite element rajulun 'a man'. This is very similar to the following English structure, "I saw a man, but the man did not see me".<sup>(3)</sup> However, it seems that the indefinite antecedent limits the choice of the definite article in order to show that the two elements involved have the same referent. Otherwise the reference of the second element will be ambiguous, i.e. in a structure like jāʔa rajulun fa ʔakramtu rajulan 'A man came, and I honoured a man' the second element rajul without al- may or may not refer to the element rajul in the first sentence.

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(1) Asad, The Message..., p.141, verse 3.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.471, verse 12.

(3) This example is taken from Bloomfield, L., Language, London and Aylesbury Ltd., 1935, p.203.

The presence of the article will make it obvious that the second sentence is related to the first one, and both elements in question refer to the same individual object. Therefore it is important to have the reference item al- to decide for one interpretation than another.

In (b), the definite article al- occurs to indicate that the prefixed element, since there is no mention of this element before, refers to the present situation. In (c), the definite article is prefixed to the element which is known to the hearer, since this element is a part of the cultural knowledge, i.e. when there is a specific referential relation between a word and the object which it represents, the word is supposed to have the article.

Again, the structure in these cases is used to particularize an object that is already related to the specific circumstances of the linguistic context.

B) The generalizing function is assumed to be the sign of withdrawal from singularity and particularity towards the general and universal. That is to say, the generic reference via the article covers all members of the class of nouns provided (so there is no particularizing article involved here). However, the generic article defines the noun to which it is prefixed and its process of movement shows three functions, as follows:

- 1) The first function is to transfer the concept of an indefinite NP to a generic one. That is to say, the definite article al- is used here to contrast the generic

noun with its indefinite noun. By this we mean that the element concerned will indicate the entire class, e.g.

al-ʔasadu ḥayawānun muftaris

'The lion is a flesh-eating animal'

In this example al-ʔasad 'the lion' refers to the total class (i.e. every member of its class is a carnivore).

This again contrasts with the indefinite one, ʔasadun 'a lion', since it does indicate the entire class.

2) The second function is to allow the element metaphorically to involve the entire class. In other words Arab grammarians assume that the member of a genus has the property of the total class e.g. ʔanta al-rajulu ʔilman 'you are the man who is equal to his class as to knowledge'.

3) The third function is used to show the quality of substantial elements. This may be represented in the comparative structure e.g. al-ḍahabu ʔanfasu mina al-niḥās 'Gold is more precious than Copper', or in an ordinary structure e.g. al-turābu gidaʔu al-nabāt 'Soil is the life of plants' (1)

The above illustrations point out that the syntactic representation depends on choices made at the semantic level of the substantives selected for this purpose, and that characterises generic elements whatever their representation with the article al-. Therefore the article syntactically has one function (i.e. definition), and semantically it has three potential possibilities.

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(1) On these illustrations so far, see Ḥasan, A., al-naḥwu al-wāfi, op.cit., vol. I, pp.421-28.



Nevertheless, the best criterion to distinguish generic reference from the particular reference is that with generic reference the prefixed noun is semantically equivalent to an indefinite noun preceded by the quantifier kull 'every', i.e. for a noun to have generic reference, the prefixed article should be equal to the quantifier kull 'every', e.g.

a) /al-nahru jārin/  
'Rivers are fluid'  
is equal to

b) /kullu nahrin jārin/  
'Every river is fluid'

where (a) is semantically equal to (b) and both the article and the quantifier modify the following head noun (see below).

To conclude, a generic noun is identifiable by the prefixation of the generic article which refers to the whole class. The different uses of generic reference have been treated by Arab grammarians in terms of logical relations. For a noun to be definite generic, it should satisfy the following points:

- (1) It should have the definite article
- (2) It does not accept the combination of the quantifier baʿḏ 'some' to it.
- (3) The generic noun should be given in a context.

More illustrations:

a) /ʔahlaka al-nāsa al-dirhamu wa al-dīnār/  
'The Dirham and Dinar have lead people to danger'

- b) /wa xuliqa al-ʔinsānu Daʔīfā/  
'For man has been created weak' (1)
- c) /al-malāku ʔafḌalu min al-ʔinsān/  
'The Angel is more outstanding than Man'
- d) /al-muslimu ʔaxū al-muslim/  
'A Muslim is the brother of every other Muslim'

However, in this connection, an interesting point can be made. Similarly to the linguistic description of the generic noun in English, the difference between definite and indefinite noun-phrases (in singular), used generically in CA, is that, with the definite noun-phrase, both a collective and a distributive interpretation is possible, but with indefinite noun-phrases the collective is excluded<sup>(2)</sup> (i.e. the indefinite noun is lexically regarded as a designated term of every individual in the class). Thus, al-rajul 'The man' or 'every man' in word-meanings can be construed as referring collectively or distributively to a class of individuals, and rajul 'man' refers to every member of the class. However, in this singular form, the collective or aggregate interpretation is a subclass of generic reference whereas in the collective or aggregate form the generic would be a subclass (see below).<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Asad, The Message..., op.cit., p.108, verse 28.  
 (2) Lyons, J., Semantics, vol. I, C.U.P., 1977, p.196.  
 (3) Note that, without generic reference, the definite and indefinite noun-phrases will refer to just one member of the class.

(E) Aggregate

In CA, there are certain items regarded as an undifferentiated collection or aggregate of individuals, (e.g. tamr 'dates', and ganam 'sheep'), and others as amorphous stuff or substance (e.g. dahab 'gold' and mā? 'water', both are semantically parallel whether they are with or without al-. We do well to quote Lyons on this point,

"It is worth noting in this connexion that there are many languages (e.g., Classical Arabic) in which countable nouns may have a collective form, which is distinct from their plural form. There is an obvious semantic parallel between nouns denoting amorphous stuff or substance (e.g. 'gold', 'water') and nouns denoting undifferentiated collections or aggregates of individuals (e.g., 'cattle')." (1)

Nevertheless, we use the term aggregate for the semantic unit which denotes an undifferentiated collective or aggregate of individuals, and which denotes amorphous stuff or scattered substance. Also the term aggregate is regarded as a class into which the generic reference is subclassified. So semantically, for a noun to be aggregate/generic, it should have the following characteristics:

1 - Count: individuals: aggregate: generic e.g.

a) /wa ?awḥā rabbuka ?ila al-naḥli ?an ittaxidī mina  
al-jibāli buyūtā/

'And [consider how] thy sustainer has inspired the bee'

"prepare for thyself dwellings in mountains..." (2)

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(1) Lyons, J., Ibid., vol. II, p.462.

(2) Asad, The Message..., p.404, verse 68.

- b) /wa al-naxla bāsiqātin lahā Talʕun naDīd/  
 'And tall palm-trees with their thickly-clustered  
 dates' (1)
- c) /laysa fīmā dūna xamsi dawdin mina al-ʔibili  
 Sadaqah/  
 'In the camels, there is no charity in less than  
 a group of five'
- d) /qāla yā-ʔayyuha al-malaʔu ʔayyukum yaʔtīnī biʕarsihā/  
 'He said [to his council] : "O you nobles! Which  
 of you can bring me her throne" (2)
- 2 - Mass: amorphous stuff or scattered substance: aggregate:  
 generic e.g.
- a) /al-ḍahabu ʔanfasu mina al-fiDDah/  
 'Gold is more precious than Silver'
- b) /wa jaʕalnā mina al-māʔi kulla sayʔin ḥayy/  
 'And [that] we made out of water every living thing' (3)
- c) /al-ḥadīdu nāfiʕ/  
 'Iron is useful'

As the above examples illustrate, the underlined elements under (1) and (2) are aggregates to which generic reference is related. It should be emphasized here that as we have seen above generic reference is distinguished as a subclass of aggregate which is referred to by elements designated for this purpose. The aggregate can

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- (1) Asad, The message..., p.797, verse 10.  
 (2) Asad, Ibid., p.581, verse 38.  
 (3) Asad, Ibid., p.491, verse 30.

further show a specific or unique reference as a subclass; specific reference refers either to the property of being collected into one continuum body such as jays 'army', qawm 'people' and qabīlah 'tribe', or specific group such as raḥṭ 'group of people', rakb 'group of riding people' and Saḥb 'group of companions', and unique reference refers to a united body, e.g. al-jāmiʿatu al-ʿarabiyyah 'the Arabic league', al-kutlatu al-ṣarqiyyah 'the Eastern Bloc', al-muʿaskaru al-garbiyy 'the Western Bloc', and al-ʿummatu al-ʿislamiyyah 'the Islamic nation'. Thus, we may distinguish three subclasses of aggregate:

- a) generic
- b) specific
- c) unique

Here follows two points we would like to make with regard to the term aggregate:

- 1 - In CA, although aggregate nouns are formally singular, they are notionally plural or quasi-plural. Somewhat to my surprise, some aggregate nouns obey grammatical concord and others obey notional concord.
- 2 - The reason for such aggregation is to show the totality of the object concerned.

(G) Generic aspect in plurals

Generic reference can be made in plurals by the prefixation of the article al-. Interestingly enough we note that while, in some cases, English plurals do not

need the definite article to denote generic reference,<sup>(1)</sup>  
Arabic does.

Contrast the following generic use in both languages:

Arabic:

- a) al-masārru mufīdah
- b) 'Telephones are useful'

However, the article al- in (a) has provided the generic feature to the plural form masārr. The semantic effect of this is that the plural which represents a set of telephones will be the class representative. In other words, the plural noun by itself (i.e. without al-) is incapable of giving any representation other than indefinite quantity whereas with al- the plural has the property of being generic, unless there is further specification. The context will tell us whether al- is used generically or specifically. Compare:

- a) /hāʔulāʔi al-rijālū min banī ʔāmir/ (specific)  
'These men are from banī ʔāmir'
- b) /al-rijālū qawwāmūna ʔalā al-nisāʔ.../  
'MEN SHALL take full care of women...'<sup>(2)</sup>

where each example has a different interpretation, in (a), the element al-rijāl 'the men' is specific assigned by the presence of the demonstrative hāʔulāʔ 'there' and the prepositional phrase min banī ʔāmir 'from bani ʔāmir', whereas in (b), al-rijāl is generic indicated by the

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(1) Hewson, J., Article and Noun in English, Mouton, 1972, p.105.  
(2) Asad, The Message...., p.109, verse 34.

absence of any restriction, hence it refers to the whole class: individually or collectively. In this way, specific and generic nouns are contextually distinguished, and, semantically, the specific noun in (a) neither refers to an individual nor to the entire class; since the meaning of al-rijāl is paraphrasable as part of the class, while in (b) al-rijāl refers to the whole class as we have said.

It is to be considered that the generic plural is characterized by:

- a) being one of the sound plurals, or broken plurals (masculine or feminine)
- b) being identifiable by combination with the quantifier kull 'all', but not baʕḍ 'some'
- c) showing the syntactic and semantic markers of a plural, which are represented in the sound plural externally by -ūn and -īn for masculine, -āt for feminine and in the broken plural by internal vowel changes for both masculine and feminine.
- d) being unrestricted

This may be clarified by comparing the following examples:

- a) /laqad ʔaxzāka allāhu bimā qaddamta ʔila al-muslimīna min sarr/  
 'God has humiliated you because of what you have done against the Moslems'
- b) /laqad ʔaxzāka allāhu bimā qaddamtā ʔilā kullī al-muslimīna min sarr/  
 'God has humiliated you because of what you have done against all the Moslems'

c) /laqad ʔaxzāka allahu bimā qaddamta ʔila baʔDi  
al-muslimīn/

'God has humiliated you because of what you have  
done to some Moslems'

Obviously, although the element al-muslimīn is plural with al- (in (a), (b) and (c)) above, it has three different interpretations. In (a), al-muslimīn is generic referring to the whole class (i.e. kullu al-muslimīn) or to every individual muslim (i.e. kullu muslimin wa muslimah 'every muslim'), in (b), it is generic referring only to the whole class of components involved, since it is modified by the quantifier kull 'all' which is also added for new information in terms of prominence and in (c) the element is non-generic in the presence of the quantifier baʔD 'some' which denotes a part of the whole class. So we can say that the generic plural may or may not occur with the quantifier kull, while the non-generic plurals occurs with the quantifier baʔD. See Chapter IV on 'Quantifiers'. Thus in:

/wa al-muTallaqātu yatarabbaʔna bi ʔanfusihiinna  
talātata qurūʔ/

'And the divorced women shall undergo, without  
remarrying, a waiting-period of three monthly  
courses' (1)

The plural al-muTallaqāt 'the divorced women' means that all individual divorced women are taken together to wait

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(1) Asad, Ibid., p.50, verse 228.



a three monthly period. Obviously, we cannot name every divorced woman, but we think of them as individually constituting a bounded set.

However, in the Quranic usage, in examples like this and the one marked (b) p.50 , the plural is formed only for generic reasons since it refers semantically by virtue of word-meanings (collectively or individually) to the whole class, giving a religious instruction. Here the presence of the quantifier baʿD 'some' is excluded, on the grounds that baʿD is a subset of whole, which has the meaning partitive which is not meant here. So semantically, for instance, the plural in the above examples can be glossed in the following syntactic representations:

a) /kullu al-muTallaqāti.../

'All divorced women

b) /kullu muTallaqatin/

'Every divorced woman'

but not

c) /baʿDu al-muTallaqāti.../

'Some divorced women...'

(a) and (b) represent indeed the fact that kull can be present in surface structure with a plural confirming the generic reference of the plural, collectively as in (a) or individually as in (b). Whereas (c) shows that baʿD can never be present or implied in a Quranic generic plural, i.e. the occurrence of baʿD with a Quranic generic plural will violate the meaning. This violation however is

only considered in the Quranic language. Since in non-Quranic language, the presence of baʿD with a plural will produce partitive meaning (see Chapter IV on 'Quantifiers'). In this connection consider for instance:

- (1) /ʔinna llāha kataba al-ḥasanāti wa al-sayyiʔāt/  
'Allah has written down the good deeds and the bad ones'
- (2) /qad ʔaflaḥ al-muʔminūn/  
'TRULY, to a happy state shall attain the believers' (1)
- (3) /rufiʕat al-ʔaqlāmu wa ʔaffat al-Suḥuf/  
'The pens have been lifted and the pages have dried'

Furthermore, the distinction between a generic and specific reference may be drawn through the relation between a noun and prepositional or adverbial phrase, if the relation is existential the noun involved will be generic, if it is locative the noun will be specific, or rather both generic and existential, as well as specific and locative, are mutually indicative. Compare the following examples where (a) represents generic and (b) represents specific reference.

- a) /al-ʔasadu fī al-gābah/  
'The lion is in the jungle'
- b) /al-ʔasadu fī al-qafaS/  
'The lion is in the cage'
- a) /al-ʕaduwwu baynanā/  
'The enemy is between us'

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.519, verse 1.

b) /al-ʔaḍuwu ʔamāmakum/

'The enemy is in front of you'

Although the prepositional and adverbial phrases above indicate locations, they are semantically subclassified into existential and locative with regard to permanent and temporary status respectively, or rather with regard to the natural and unnatural place of the element in question.

Another important criterion of generic plurals, is when the plural is considered as a source occurring usually in an imperative clause, e.g.

a) /xuḍ min al-darāhim/

'Take some of the dirhams'

b) /qaddim mina al-ʔadillati mā yakfī.../

'Give some sufficient proofs...'

To conclude, the main characteristics of generic nouns are represented as follows:

Generic		
singular	quasi-plural	plural
N	N	N
count	collective: count/mass	count
- kull	+ kull	+ kull
- baʔD	- baʔD	- baʔD

(H) Nationality words and adjectives as generic nouns

Under this heading, we will deal with two classes: nationality words and adjectives which can act as a noun phrase with generic reference. These words mainly have the meaning of timeless, tenseless and aspectless propensity. More accurately, Arabic shows two types of words which can according to the context be both generic and specific, marked by the article al-.<sup>(1)</sup> However, nationality words are naturally related to a specific country, sect, origin etc. Thus, firstly, as an illustration, consider the examples below where in (a) the nationality word is generic, and in (b) it is specific:

- a) /lā yaṣṣuru al-ʿarabiyyu bial-gurbati fawqa ʔarDin ʿarabiyyah/

'The Arabian does not feel strange in any Arab land'

- b) /ʔinnahu al-ʿarabiyyu al-wahīdu.../

'Surely, he is the only Arabian...'

- a) /wa ḥaytuma yantqil al-sūdaniyyu fī miSra yajid ʔahlan biʔahl/

'And wherever the Sudanese goes in Egypt he will feel at home'

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(1) The indefinite word can be used to indicate generic reference as in /... ʔalā lā faDla liʿarabiyyin ʿalā ʔaʿjamiyyin wa lā liʿajamiyyin ʿalā ʿarabiyyin wa lā liʔahmara ʿalā ʔaswada wa lā ʔaswada ʿalā ʔahmara ʔillā bial-taqwa.../

'People are equal. There is no virtue for an Arab over a non-Arab, or a non-Arab over an Arab, for black over red, or red over black, except in piety'.

- b) /wa inSarafa al-sūdaniyyu wa qad ʔalqā ʔan  
nafsihi ʔibʔan ʔaqīlā/  
'And the Sudanese man has left and got rid of a  
heavy responsibility'
- a) falam yakun al-tamīmiyyu ʔaw al-qaysiyyu ḥīna  
yaqūlu al-ʔiʔra yaqūluhu biluḡati tamīmin ʔaw qays...  
'If a Tamimi or a Qaisi says poetry he would not  
say it in his own dialect'
- b) faqāla al-tamīmiyyu liSāhibih...  
'And the Tamimi said to his friend...'

As we see, each of the underlined elements refers to every member of its class, as in (a) and to one specific member, as in (b). The context makes clear which interpretation is intended. That is to say, it is the whole structure which determines the noun as generic or specific, as we stated earlier.

It is to be noted that a nationality word expressed in the form (muʔannā) 'dual' is always specific, while the plural can be either generic or specific, depending upon the linguistic context. By way of exemplification, consider:

- a) /wa ʔāsa fī kanafi al-kalbiyyina.../  
'And he lived in the protection of the Kalbis'
- b) /kamā yaqulu al-kalbiyyūna alladīna bāʔūh/  
'As the Kalbis who sold him says' (specific)
- c) /wa ʔaqāma al-kalbiyyāni Dayfayni.../  
'And the two Kalbis stayed as guests...' (specific)

However, there are certain nouns and adjectives which can also be used as a noun phrase with generic reference. These include:

(1) Non-personal abstracts

a) Singular:

e.g. al-ʿadlu ʔasāsu al-mulk

'(The) justice is the basic ground of power'

'wa al-Sabru Diyāʔ

'Patience is illumination'

al-birru husnu al-xuluq, wa al-ʔitmu mā ḥāka

fī nafsika wa karihta ʔan yaʔṭaliʿa ʔalayhi

al-nās

'Righteousness is good morality, and wrong doing is that which wavers in your soul and which you dislike people finding out about'

b) Broken plural:

e.g. wa ʔanā ʔagfiru al-dunūba jamīʿan

'And I (God) forgive all sins'

ʔinnamā al-ʔaʿmālu bial-niyyāt

'Actions are but by intention'

wa al-ḥuqūqu qaḍāʔ

'And Rights are obligatory'

In (a) the underlined elements refer to what is just, power, patience, righteousness and wrongdoing respectively, and those of (b) refer to what are sins, actions and rights respectively.

(2) Personal elements

a) Singular:

e.g. faʔamma al-yatīma falā taqhar wa ʔamma al-sāʔila  
falā tanhar

'Therefore, the orphan shalt thou never wrong,  
and him that seeks [thy] help shalt thou never  
chide' (1)

b) Broken plural:

e.g. ʔinnamā al-Sadaqātu lil-fuqarāʔi wa  
al-masākīni...

'Offerings given for the sake of God are [meant]  
only for the poor and the needy.' (1)

In (a), the element al-yatīma comprehends all is orphans  
and al-sāʔila all petitions. In (b) the element al-fuqarāʔ  
includes all those who are poor.

The description so far has shown that although the  
definite article al- 'the' is identifiable by form, it  
has various characteristics of linguistic identification,  
in terms of normative and prescriptive considerations.  
These can be summarized as follows:

- a) Although the word al- 'the' in isolation has no  
lexical meaning, it has its appropriate meaning with  
word-meanings, which varies across different contexts.  
So, it has semantic valency.
- b) The head noun with non-generic al- is inclusive  
whereas with generic al- is exclusive.

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(1) Asad, The message..., p.269, verse 60.

- c) The function of al- as non-generic or generic is contextually assigned.
- d) al- implies a uniquely identifiable referent.

### The structural functions of al-phrases

In the previous sections, we have examined al- 'the' of non-generic and generic references in which it occurs with word-meanings. The preceding features of al- that we have illustrated up to this point have involved the use of the article al- to represent its identity of reference. Significantly, the description has been more or less concerned with the traditional point of view, regarding the use of al- across the axes: non-generic and generic (as in Section D). Here the description centres around al- in terms of its structural relations with the head noun: syntactic and semantic.

#### A) The syntactic structure

Whether the article al- is generic or non-generic, it functions structurally as a modifier to a head noun. This is based on the fact that al- is syntactically dependent, in combination with different types of noun and adjective, i.e. the article al- as well as the possessive pronoun cannot syntactically stand as a free form. Obviously the head noun is independent and has the syntactic distinction of being always present in surface structure i.e. it cannot be deleted. However, the deletability of the head noun with deictics depends on syntactic factors.



For instance, it is permissible with some deictics but not others, demonstratives allow it but possessive pronouns and al- do not. Thus we have one possibility in the following examples:

- 1) /wa ijtamaʕa al-malaʕu min quraysin fī al-masjid/  
 'And the assembly from Quraish gathered in the Mosque

- 2) /wa lam yakad yablugu dārahu.../  
 'And when he just arrived to his house...'

whereas we can have two possibilities in:

- 3a) /wa ʔātartu hāda al-bayta al-ʕatīqa ʕala mā fī al-yamani min Dalālin wa gayy/  
 'And I preferred this ancient house to misguidance and enticement seen in al-yaman'
- 3b) /wa ʔātartu hāda [ ] ʕala mā fī al-yamani min Dalālin wa gayy/  
 'And I preferred this [ ] to the misguidance and enticement which occurs in al-yaman'

As the above examples show that the head noun can only be deleted with the demonstrative, as in 3(b), but not with al- or the possessive pronoun, as in (1) and (2).

Note that although the deictics function as modifiers in an NP. the combination of a demonstrative with al- in one NP will give a prominence to the head noun. Also the demonstratives as well as possessives contain within themselves some referential element in terms of which the item in question is to be identified, whereas the definite article al- has no content - it only signals that the item

in question is specific and identifiable<sup>(1)</sup> or generic and identifiable.

However, the syntactic function of the definite article al- is used to modify the noun in question. By this modification is meant that nominal phrase which contains al- with a modifying function. The term 'modifier' is used in this connection to subsume what the traditional grammarians referred to as al- al-ṣahdiyyah and al-al-jinsiyyah (see p. 41). Consider:

- a) /ʔinna al-ʔinsāna lafī xusr/  
'Verily, man is bound to lose himself' <sup>(2)</sup>
- b) /faṣaṣā firṣawnu al-rasūl/  
'And pharaoh rebelled against the apostle' <sup>(3)</sup>
- c) /ʔiḍ humā fī al-gār/  
'when these two were [ ] hiding [ ] in the cave' <sup>(4)</sup>
- d) /ʔaqbala yāsirun yasā ʔilā al-masjid/  
'yāsir is coming towards the Mosque'
- e) /wa lakinna ṣabda allāhi yarfaṣu raʔsahu wa yabsimu lil-gulām/  
'but ʿAbḍ allah raised his head and smiled at the boy'

B) The semantic structure

Under the previous heading, al- 'the' has been

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- (1) See Halliday et al., Cohesion in English, 1976, p.71.
  - (2) Asad, The Message..., op.cit., p.974, verse 2.
  - (3) Asad, ibid., p.904, verse 16.
  - (4) Asad, ibid., p.266, verse 40.

examined just as a modifier. In the present heading it will be examined in respect of its contextual function. In so doing we adopt Halliday's view which was given in pages 25 and 26 . For the sake of this point we repeat it here in a complete representation:

"The contextual function of deictics is to identify, and among them 'the', is unmarked and specific; that is, its function is to identify a specific subset but to do so by reference to something other than itself; unlike 'his' or 'that', 'the' carries no power of identification but indicates that something else present does. This 'something else' may be either (1) in the M/Q elements of nominal group, (2) in the context, linguistic or situational, or (3) in the head of the nominal group itself. There are thus three distinct relations into which 'the' as deictics enters, respectively 'cataphoric', 'anaphoric', and 'homophoric'." (1)

In CA, these three terms of references are structural functions which are normally made within a structural framework in which 'al-' refers forward, or backward, or to a specific situation. However, 'al-' can never refer forward cohesively. It can only refer to the element which it modifies in the same nominal group.

The description however centres around al- in terms of its exophoric and endophoric references: By 'exophoric' is meant that al- which refers to a specific situation where 'endophoric' is a cover term for anaphoric and cataphoric. The former refers to a relatable element in the preceding context, the latter refers to the following

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(1) Halliday et al., Patterns of Language, op.cit., p.58.

element within the same nominal group. Again, essentially al- performs its structural functions through an element whether the element has a lexical relation with another element or not. Also the definite article which contains no specifying element of its own has no information for identifying the head noun, the information is recoverable somewhere in the context of situation or text, hence the reference is exophoric or endophoric. Robins says:

"The semantic framework by which the information relevant to the functioning, the meaning, of utterances can be stated is the context of situation." (1)

After this brief discussion of what the linguists referred to as a structural function of the definite article: cataphoric, anaphoric, exophoric or homophoric, we will examine the implication of each term in CA, in more detail.

#### (I) Exophoric and homophoric references

Considering the above definition of 'exophoric' reference, the exophoric can be seen through the article al- followed by an element in a specific situation. The exophoric however can be developed to what is called homophoric which does not depend on a specific situation. That is to say, exophoric reference is used with an element which has specific reference and homophoric reference is used for an element which has generic

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(1) Robins, R.H., General Linguistics, Longman, 1964, p.26.

reference. In this manner, the definite article falls into two types of functions: exophoric and homophoric. Each one is designated according to the interpretation of the element involved with al-. These are described as follows:

a) Exophoric reference

With exophoric reference by al-, the following element is identifiable in various ways:

(1) It must be particular indicating a specific and immediate situation. Compare:

a) /lā taʕbur al-sayyāratu qādimah/

'Do not cross; the car is coming'

b) /lā taʕbur sayyāratun qādimah/

'Do not cross; an approaching car is coming'

a) la qad jāʔa al-Dayf/

'The guest has come'

b) /la qad jāʔa Dayf/

'One (a) guest has come'

In (a), the elements al-sayyāratu 'the car', and al-Dayfu 'the guest' can be interpreted as the car and the guest which we are waiting for. In (b), although the elements sayyāratun 'a car', and Dayfun 'a guest' are given for the immediate situation, they do not indicate a specific situation. They may be interpreted respectively as a warning of an unexpected car, and as telling about the presence of an unexpected guest.

(2) The other way of exemplifying 'exophoric' in an NP is where the referent is identifiable on extra-linguistic

grounds whether the object or thing involved occurs in specific situation or not. This, however, has something to do with religious, meteorological terms, supreme attributes of Allāh and the general nouns which are used as personal forms. The following lists are representative of exophoric use.

1 - religious terms which refer to a class of only

one member:

al-baʿt	'Day of Resurrection'
al-qiyaamah	'Day of Resurrection'
al-ʿāxirah	'the hereafter'
al-ʿisrāʾ	'Mohammad's (P.B.U.H.) Journey from the Holy Mosque (in Mecca) to the farthest Mosque (in Jerusalem)
al-miʿrāj	'Mohammad's midnight journey from the farthest Mosque to the seven heavens'

2 - meteorological terms which represent one member

al-qamar	'the moon'
al-hilāl	'the crescent'
al-badr	'the full moon'
al-sams	'the sun'
al-xusūf	'the eclipsed moon'
al-kusūf	'the eclipsed sun'

3 - supreme attributes of Allah

al-malik	'the Sovereign'
al-quddūs	'the Holy One'

al-salām	'the source of peace'
al-muʾmin	'the Guardian of faith'
al-muḥaymin	'the master'

4 - general nouns which represent one member which will be assumed in the absence of specific indication to the contrary

al-ṣāʾilah	'the family' (our family)
al-qabīlah	'the tribe' (our tribe)
al-ḥukūmah	'the government' (our government)
al-wizārah	'the cabinet' (our cabinet)
al-waṭan	'the homeland (our homeland)

5 - general nouns used to exemplify one member because the referent is regarded as the famous one in the whole class

al-muṣṣāf	'the Holy Quran'
al-kitāb	'Sibamayh's book'
al-rasūl	'the prophet Mohamed'
al-madīnah	'city in Saudi Arabia'
al-nābigah	'name of a poet'

The above illustrations are given to show exophoric reference in noun phrases. Since these noun phrases individually denote exophoric references depending on specific consideration and since there is only one member involved, hence they are distinguishable as exophoric on their own.

(3) Exophoric reference is also associated with two types of construction. These are what the Arab grammarians called warning and temptation constructions. As an illustration of exophoric reference, consider:

1- Warning construction:

- a) al-nāra 'the fire' (take care of the fire)

but not

nāra

- b) al-kasala 'laziness' (leave laziness)

but not

kasala

The above examples as representatives of warning construction have an exophoric reference which is made by the presence of al- and the indication to specific situation - traditionally speaking, in (a) the verb *iḥdar* 'take care' is said to be optionally deleted from the warning construction, and al-nāra 'the fire' thus is in the accusative case. In (b), also the verb *utruk* 'leave' is deleted from the surface structure of the warning construction, and al-kasala 'laziness' is also in the accusative case. Furthermore, the main prerequisite which the structure of warning should satisfy is that the noun-phrase of warning must be (1) singular (2) definite marked by the article al- so the indefinite singular or definite dual or plural cannot stand for this type of construction. Hence the exophoric reference al- is obligatorily preposed to this type of warning. More examples:

al-qitāra	'the train' (mind the train)
al-barda	'the cold' (be careful of the cold)
al-ʔasada	'the lion' (watch the lion)



Note that this type of warning may be introduced by the particle ?iyyāka and the conjunction wa, as ?iyyāka wa al-?asada 'mind the lion'. The semantic effect of this is that the structure will be a statement of warning in general and the reference will be homophoric (see below) where the relation is one of exclusive.

## 2 -Exhortation construction:

e.g.

al-?adaba 'good behaviour' (cleave to good behaviour)

but not

?adaba

The above example shows that the exhortation type is formally similar to the warning type, as displayed above i.e. both types have the same syntactic conditions to be formed (see p. 68 ). In this way, the noun-phrase al-?adaba stands for an exhortation and represent exophoric reference; marked by al-, and having specific indication. More examples are given below.

al-iʔtidāla 'moderation' (be moderate)

al-istiḡāmata 'righteousness' (stick to  
righteousness)

al-istigfāra 'forgiveness' (ask for  
forgiveness)

al-ʔamala 'work' (cleave to work)

## Multiple noun phrases and exophoric reference

We have been dealing so far with exophoric reference at the word level. Here we will discuss and compare two

patterns independently. These are:

- a) repetition, the occurrence of two linguistic units of equivalent syntactic and semantic status;
- b) coordination, the occurrence of two linking linguistic units of equivalent syntactic status.

The repeated pattern:

The word here may be repeated for the purpose of emphasis, and the two elements in question are 'co-referentially assigned. Again this type of structure falls into two types of meaning: warning and exhortation, in which the reference is exophoric. In that, the first noun phrase is repeated with al- in the same nominal group to give prominence, and refer to the immediate situation, though the second element refers back to the first. For this assumption, we give the following argument. The article in the second element does not function anaphorically as it may seem, but exophorically, since the semantic load carried by the second occurrence of the identical noun is one and the same, in the same nominal group.

To summarize here the main points:

- a) The repetition of the identical noun is meant to give emphasis on the message.
- b) The reported element carries the exophoric reference, since it occurs in the same nominal group and refers to the immediate situation, and not to a previous referent in the linguistic context. Hence it is identifiable as the first occurrence.

- c) This type of structure is made of two identical elements: al + noun and al + noun. Both are in the accusative case.
- d) Meaning: inclusive (be it the warning or exhortation construction).

In the light of this description, consider the following two sets:

Set I

- a) al-ʔasada al-ʔasada  
'Beware of the lion' (the lion)
- b) al-barda al-barda  
'Be careful of the cold' (the cold)
- c) al-jidāra al-jidāra  
'Beware of the wall' (the wall)
- but not
- ʔasada ʔasada
- barda barda
- jidāra jidāra

Set II

- a) al-wafāʔa al-wafāʔa  
'Keep loyalty' (loyalty)
- al-salāma al-salāma  
'Keep peace' (peace)
- al-najdata al-najdata  
'give help' (help)
- but not
- wafāʔa wafāʔa
- salāma salāma
- najdata najdata

### The coordinate pattern:

It is not as the previous examples may suggest that the two types, warning and exhortation are carried by repetition in which there is co-reference between the two elements involved, but also these types may be lexically represented by two unrelated elements; in coordination, where there is no referential relation at all to the element previously mentioned. Again the two elements are marked by al- and appear in the accusative case.

Somewhat to my surprise I noticed that with the repeated pattern the coordinator wa is precluded, and with the coordinate pattern the repetition of the first element is also precluded. So, the concept of emphasis is applied to the former, but not to the latter.

The common denominator of the two participants in the coordinate pattern is that both elements have exophoric reference, regarding their specific and immediate indication. Examples:

- 1a) al-barda wa al-maTara  
'Guard against cold and rain'
- 1b) al-ḥiqda wa al-ḥasada  
'Avoid hatred and envy'
- 1c) al-Dulma wa al-sarra  
'Avoid injustice and evil'
- 2a) al-iʔtidāla wa al-istiḡāmata  
'Keep to moderation and righteousness'

- 2b) al-murūʔata wa al-naǧdata  
'Keep to the sense of honour and help'
- 2c) al-Sabra wa al-Salāta  
'Stick to patience and prayer'

It is worth mentioning here that although in each example above the two participants are not lexically co-referential, in a more delicate analysis they denote internal relation, i.e. they collocate in moral sense.

Finally, the exophoric reference may be used to particularize and identify a general element, referring to an immediate situation, in a given sentence. Consider:

- a) iḥḍari al-kalb  
'Beware of the dog' (this dog)
- b) xuḍi al-dawāʔ  
'Take the medicine' (your medicine)
- c) wa qad ʔankara al-fatā min ʔuxtihi naṣāTahā  
'And the boy disapproved of the activity of his sister'
- d) laysa al-ḥasadu min ʔaxlāqi al-raǧuli al-karīm  
'Envy is not a characteristic of a high-minded man'
- e) faʔaḍina li l-muslimīna fī al-hijrati ʔilā yaṭrib  
'And he gave permission to the muslims to emigrate to Yathrib'
- g) iʔṭini al-qalam  
'Give me the pen'

Again, the above sentences include elements which have the article al- to refer to an immediate situation. The immediate situational instances of al- as explained

previously are exophoric. Exophoric reference here, however, is associated with an instant situation; even if it is a momentary state.

In this procedure, we take into account, throughout the above section on exophoric reference, that the phenomena of prefixing the article al-, in such noun phrases, is related to the function of the immediate situation, i.e. exophoric reference, contrasted with al- which is prefixed for anaphoric and cataphoric functions, referring to a previous item or fact, and a following item respectively (see below).

B) Homophoric reference

Homophoric reference is the one produced by exophoric reference since it is thought to capture the elements among the various noun phrases which do not rely on a specific situation. This reference represents the way of interpreting our experience of the element given to us with the article al-. The article role which figures prominently in the noun phrase of which the reference is the whole class is 'homophoric'. The use of general words however as homophoric elements is to distinguish them from those which are situationally specific types.

In this distinction between exophoric and homophoric references, Halliday suggests that

"If it is exophoric, the item is identifiable in one of two ways. (1) A particular individual or subclass is being referred to, and that individual or subclass is identifiable in the

specific situation... All immediate situational instances of the are exophoric in this way: 'mind the step'...

(2) The referent is identifiable on extralinguistic grounds - no matter what the situation. This has something in common with the generalized exophoric use of the personal forms, and it occurs under two conditions. It may arise, first, because there exists only one member of the class of objects referred to, for example the sun; or, at least, one member which will be assumed in the absence of specific indication to the contrary, for example the baby ('our baby')... Secondly, it may arise because the reference is the whole class, e.g. the stars; or the individual considered as a representative of the whole class, like the child in AS the child grows,... This type of exophoric reference, which does not depend on the specific situation, has been called homophoric to distinguish it from the situationally specific type." (1)

The non-specific situation is the key of showing the reference of al- as homophoric reference, whereas the specific is associated with exophoric reference.

Examples:

Exophoric:           la tadnu min al-ʔasadi yaʔkuluḥ  
                          'Do not approach       the lion because  
                          he will eat you'

Homophoric:         al-ʔasadu yaftarīsu man yaqtaribu minh  
                          'The lion will kill any one who approaches  
                          it'  
                          lā tatafakkahū biʔaʕrādī al-nāsi faʕarru  
                          al-xuluqi al-ḡibah  
                          'Do not make fun of people's good reputation  
                          since slandering is immoral'

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(1) Halliday et al., Cohesion..., p.71.

Under this heading we have tried to give a rough outline of the homophoric reference of al-, on the dimension of non-specific situation, as expounded by Halliday with a view to contrasting it with exophoric reference, on the dimension of the specific situation.

(II) Endophoric reference

In Cohesion in English, Halliday puts forward in general the definition of references and their distinction within the class of reference items:

"As a general rule, therefore, reference items may be exophoric or endophoric; and, if endophoric, they may be anaphoric or cataphoric (cf. 1.9 above). This scheme will allow us to recognize certain distinctions within the class of reference items, according to their different uses and 'phoric' tendencies." (1)

He also refers to the fact that exophoric reference is situationally designed, and endophoric reference is textually identified. (2)

In the following two sections we will discuss and compare both references independently.

A) Anaphoric reference

Anaphoric reference is the one used in a text where the two elements are co-referential, or rather anaphoric is that involving two participants: one is previously

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(1) Halliday, ibid., p.33.

(2) Ibid., p.33.



mentioned and the other is later illustrated, in a mutual indication.

In a given text, the applicability of anaphoric reference to nominal phrase types is noticeable through various representations. Next, an attempt will be made at classifying these representatives into three main types; each will be dealt with separately below in which anaphoric reference is carried by al-:

(i) Anaphoric reference is clear-cut in an NP which refers back to a corresponding previous indefinite referent, both are given in two separate structures e.g.

- a) /kāna yawman Dalla fīhi al-nāsu Dalālan baʿīdan,  
wa ʔawgalū fī al-Dalāl/

'It was a day in which people diverted so much,  
and they penetrated deeply into diversion'

- b) /xarajat fatātun ʔilā jabali al-zaytūnati, tumma  
tarakat al-fatātu jabala al-zaytūnati ʔilā bayti  
ʔaqribāʔihā/

'A girl went up to Zaytūna mountain, and after  
that the girl left for her relative's home'

- c) /lābudda ʔan ʔutbiʔa najāhī bi al-ʔamsi najāhan  
al-yawma, faʔinna al-najāha maʔbūdukum al-ʔakbar/

'I must follow my success yesterday by another  
success today, since (surely) the success is  
your best idol'

(ii) It may be represented in a synonym; related to an element previously mentioned (be it indefinite or definite). The following sentences serve as an

illustration of the inclusion of anaphoric reference,

- a) /ʔalā ʔādatihā kulla yawmin lam takun taʔlamu  
mā sayahduṭu ʔaʔra dālika al-nahār/
- 'According to her habit every day, she could not  
know what will happen in the afternoon of that day'
- b) /ʔuhdiya qaḍibun ʔilā ʔaliyyin fafutina al-Sabiyyu  
bihādihi al-ʔaʔa/

'A walking stick was given as a present to 'Ali and  
the boy was fascinated by this stick'

- c) faqāla ibnu xālawayhi: ʔahfaḍu lil-sayfi  
xamsina isman, fatabassama ʔabū ʔaliyyin wa qāla:  
mā ʔahfaḍu ʔillā isman wāḥidan wa huwa al-sayfu.  
qāla ibnu xālawayhi: faʔayna al-muhannadu wa  
al-ʔarimu.../

'Ibn Khālawayh said: "I know by heart fifty names  
for the sword". Thereby Abu 'Ali smiled and said:  
"I do not know any more than one name that is  
al-sayf 'the sword'." Again Ibn Khālawayh said:  
"What about al-muhannad and al-ʔarim 'the sword...'

(iii) Anaphoric reference can be made by al- as follows:

- a) in a super-ordinate item which refers back to its  
counterpart in a previous separate clause, where  
both elements are definite general words. The only  
difference between them lies in the level of  
generality, e.g.

/wa ʔulā hādihi al-waqafāti: ḥawla al-muʔallifi  
alladī dawwana fī kitābihi hādā al-ḥadīṭa al-ʔarīfa,  
faʔinna ʔahla al-ʔilmi rubbamā dakarū ʔanna

al-rajula laysa min rijāli al-ḥadīthi..... wa qad  
samiḥa al-rajulu al-ḥadītha wa istajāz/

'The first one of these standing points about the author who wrote down this honorable prophetic Ḥadīth is that the scholars might mention that the man (the author) is not one of the scholars of Ḥadīth... The man has heard the Ḥadīth and passed it'

b) in an element which points to a previous knowledge or background shared between the speaker and hearer

a) /mā ʔaxbāru al-qaryah?/

'What is the news of the village?'

b) /hal qaraʔta al-kitāb?/

'Have you read the book?'

c) /jāʔa al-Dayf/

'The guest came'

Although there is no mention here of a preceding referent the above examples include elements which have anaphoric reference to what is kept in the speaker's and addressee's mind.

Contrasting the above examples under the label 'anaphoric reference' we note that:

(1) In terms of the referential relationship obtaining between the two elements involved in a given text, they have in common the following characteristics:

a) The second occurrence is always with the anaphoric al- 'the', whereas the first may not occur with al-.

- b) The clause in which the second element involved carries new information about the first element whereas the information about the second element is said to be recovered from the previous clause

(2) They differ in type of reiteration, by which the referential relationship expressed by the two elements occurring in the two clauses, with the anaphoric reference expressed by al- in the second occurrence, is represented. That is to say, they show (a) the same element repeated, as in (1), (b) a synonym, as in (2) or (c) a near-synonym or ~~super~~-ordinate, as in (3a). Note that when we interpret the second element in (1) and (2) by reference to the first element involved we relate it to the first referent. The same is true in (3a), except that the second element adds specificity to the first.

B) Cataphoric reference

Cataphoric reference shows that the article al- is used to refer forward. The significance of prefixing al- in such elements within such structures is to identify the element reiterated whose identification is recoverable from the nominal group in which al- occurs. That is to say, the noun is identifiable and retrievable from the modifying elements which are given to specify the head noun. Here are some representative examples:

- a) /wa yaktubu al-muslimūna mina al-ʔanSāri.../  
'And the muslims of the ʔanSār group write...'
- b) /tumma ʔaxrajahu min dālika al-ragbatu fī al-xayri  
fī ḥubbi allāhi wa rasūlih/  
'What got him out of this situation was his wish  
for attachment to Allah and his messenger'
- c) /...wa yastaqSiya ḥisāba ḥādihi al-xawāTiri  
allati kānat taDTaribu fī Damīrih/  
'And he studies the calculation of these thoughts  
which were disorganized in his conscience'
- d) /al-bintu al-kubrā/  
'The oldest girl'
- e) /ihdina al-SirāTa al-mustaqīma SirāTa alladīna  
ʔanʔamta ʔalayhim.../  
'Guide us the straight way - the way of those upon  
whom Thou hast bestowed Thy blessings.' (1)

In the above examples, the elements marked al- are in the fortified position from where al- has its function as a cataphoric item which refers forward to the prefixed element and a modifying element(s) within the same nominal group, so that we need to follow the element in question by the modifying element(s) in sequence, as illustrated above, and, more particularly, with specific function - that is to say, in (a-e), the underlined elements are specified by the article and the following element(s) add more specification to the head noun.

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(1) Asad, The Message..., p.2, verses 6 and 7.

For instance, in (a and b), the prepositional phrases (mina al-ʔanSāri and fī al-xayri) signify origin or source and manner respectively, and in (c and d), the relative clause (allatī taDTaribu fi Damīrih) and the comparative (al-kubrā) indicate restriction and quality respectively. All are defining the antecedent head noun, representing the linguistic unit referred to (cataphorically). Again, they assert the specification of the preceding element.

#### Double function of al-

It is not the case as the above illustrations may suggest that the previous types of reference are individually applicable, i.e. these various types of reference are not mutually exclusive. This is based on the grounds that the article al- may have two functions simultaneously. Thus, al- may be used in both anaphoric and cataphoric reference. Examples:

- a) /sāhadtū al-ʔunūda farihatan al-ʔunūda allatī  
intaSarat ʔalā ʔaʔdāʔihā .../  
'I have seen the soldiers cheerful, the soldiers  
who triumphed over their enemy'
- b) /qutīla ʔaShābu al-ʔuxdūdi al-nāri dāti al-waqūd/  
'THEY DESTROY [but] themselves, they who would  
ready a pit of fire fiercely burning [for all who  
have attained to faith]' (1)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.942, verses 4 and 5.

- c) /ji?ta tas?alu lan al-birri? qultu naʕam.  
qāla: "istafti qalbaka al-birru mā iTmaʕannat ?ilayhi  
al-nafsu wa iTmaʕanna ?ilayhi al-qalbu..."  
'You have come to ask about righteousness? I said:  
Yes. He said: "Consult your heart. Righteousness  
is that about which the soul feels tranquil and the  
heart feels tranquil.'

The underlined elements in the above examples are exponents of what is meant by 'textual reference', whether it is cataphoric or anaphoric.

Again, it is noticeable that textual references in the above illustrations are marked by the presence of the article al-, so that it is characteristic of al- in textual references to have a cataphoric function in the sense that it refers cataphorically to the head noun, and an anaphoric function since it refers anaphorically to the head.

However, in (a-b), the first al- is cataphoric only, since the prefixed element has no relation with an earlier referent in the preceding discourse. The second functions as both cataphoric and anaphoric, showing that al- refers to the following element, and to the earlier referent at the same time. In (c) the first al- as well as the second functions as cataphoric and anaphoric. That is to say, in (c) the first al- is anaphoric with regard to the previous knowledge and cataphoric by referring to the following element birr. The second al-

is also anaphoric and cataphoric, anaphoric in the sense that birr is related to the preceding element birr, and cataphoric since it points to the following element birr; furthermore it may refer by way of extension to the relative clauses (mā iTma?annat ?ilahi al-nafsu wa iTma?anna ?ilayhi al-qalbu) where the information about the head noun is recovered.

It is worth mentioning here that al- may have the third dimension (i.e. exophoric or homophoric), according to its situational sense, i.e. if the prefixed element is only one member, and it is in a specific situation, the reference would be exophoric, otherwise it would be homophoric (see pp. 64-76 above).

(iii) Possessive pronouns as modifier

The possessive pronouns here are dealt with as the third division of deictics, and one of three types of reference: Demonstrative, definite article and possessive. These pronouns are: (ī 'my', nā 'our', ka, kumā, kum 'your', hu 'his', 'its', hā 'her', 'its' humā and hum 'their' <sup>(1)</sup> which are suffixed to a noun, where the noun is a head and the pronoun is a modifier. The modifying pronouns include what follows the head; the location in this position is semantically significant, so they have reference by their semantic function in the speech of the situation, through

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(1) Traditionally speaking, these pronouns are called first person, second person and third person, showing the number categories of singular, dual and plural.



the above pronouns. In this way, the head noun is modified and referred to, and the pronoun acts as modifier and anaphoric reference. This description is based on two structural dimensions: syntactic and semantic. Hence the noun and suffixed pronoun have their roles in a given structure. This can be exemplified as follows:

- a) /hādā kitābī/  
'This is my book'
- b) /hādihi biDāṣatuna ruddat ?ilayna.../  
'Here is our merchandise: it has been returned to us' (1)
- c) /wa Duriba Ṣala galbihi bi al-?asdād/  
'His heart has been sealed by barriers'
- d) /fayanziḤu ḥijlahā wa qulbahā, wa qalā?idahā  
wa riṣāṭahā/  
'And he took off her anklet, bracelet, necklaces and earrings'
- e) /fa wa allāhi mā guziya qawmun qaTTu fi Ṣuqri  
dārihim ?illā dallū/  
'I swear by Allāh, people can never be invaded in their own country without being humiliated'

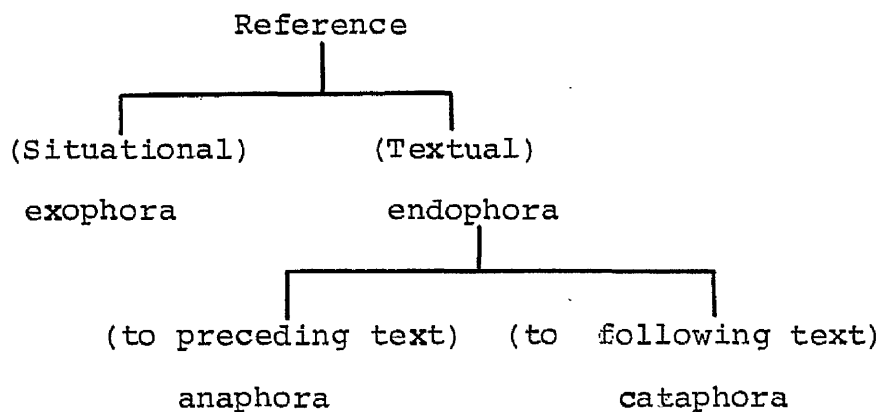
As far as the logical structure is concerned, the underlined elements above consist of noun + pronoun. The pronoun is syntactically dependent, since it cannot stand as a free form. This has the effect of introducing the structure: head + modifier, where, semantically speaking,

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.347, verse 65.

the former functions as a referent and the latter acts as anaphoric reference, referring back to the head noun involved. As the above examples represent.

Finally, we find it useful to end the discussion about reference throughout this chapter, to quote the diagram given by Halliday<sup>(1)</sup>:




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(1) In using the terms of cataphoric, anaphoric and exophoric or homophoric in this study, we depend heavily on Halliday's description. For this diagram see Cohesion (op.cit.), p.33.

## CHAPTER II

### MODIFICATION IN NPs WITHIN RELATIONAL SENTENCES

#### Introduction:

In this chapter we deal with what can be called relational sentences in Arabic. These sentences are marked off by being verbless structures (i.e. in surface structure) to which the relation between the first part "subject" and the second "predicate" is applied. In sentences of this type certain constraints occur as to the future of definiteness and indefiniteness particularly as regards the "subject" phrase. However, it is useful to treat these sentences since the string of elements involved often has the same surface structure as an NP and therefore a contrastive investigation helps to fully define the NP type.

To illustrate this consider the string:  
/al-maliku al-qā'id/ This could be an independent sentence meaning "The king is the leader", in which case an alternative structure al-malikū huwa al-qā'id would also exist. Or it could be a noun phrase operating as part of a larger sentence i.e. al-malikū al-qā'idu fataḥa al-madīnah "The leader king conquered the city."

However before describing 'modification' in NPs within relational sentences, it is worth reviewing briefly three viewpoints regarding the concept of 'relation'. The purpose is to demonstrate that the term 'relation' is used here in a more limited sense than that assigned to it by other linguists.

The first is that of Lyons:

"We may adopt the following formulation: the semantic structure of any system of words in the vocabulary is the network of semantic relations that hold between the words in the system in question. The nature of these relations we must leave for the chapter on semantics. The important point to notice in the definition of semantic structure that has just been given is that it makes use of the key-terms system and relation."(1)

Also,

"The sentence is the maximum unit of grammatical analysis: that is, it is the largest unit that the linguist recognizes in order to account for the distributional relations of selection and exclusion that are found to hold in the language he is describing."(2)

Examining these two quotations, we note that the "concept of relation" can be identified in three ways:

- 1) Any lexical item by itself is a relational network.
- 2) Items in a larger unit have relational networks which can be built from these items by taking them as members of grammatical relation i.e. subject and predicate relationship is one which reflects various relations (see below).
- 3) Any relation is attributed to the system of the language involved. In other words, the system of the language refers to various patterned relationships constituting the order of this language.

The second viewpoint is that of Halliday who puts the term relation with restriction,

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(1) and (2) Lyons, J., Introduction... op.cit., pp.58-59 and p.176 respectively.

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"A structure is made up of "elements" which are graphically represented as being in linear progression; but the theoretical relation among them is one of "order". Order may, but does not necessarily, have as its realization "sequence", the formal relation carried by linear progression; sequence is at a lower degree of abstraction than order and is one possible formal exponent of it."(1)

By the 'formal relation', he means that in description, structures are expressed as linear arrangements of elements; the relation stands for the terms 'subject', 'predicate', complement and adjunct, or for modifier, head, qualifier, represented in various combinations, so that the syntagmatic relation is expressed in the surface structure. Also as he says,

"relational clauses are clauses in which the 'process' takes the form of a relation between two participating entities, or between one participating entity and an attribute."(2)

The third viewpoint to be mentioned is that of Hudson

"just as the role of classification rules is to specify how features can combine with one another in a bundle attached to a single node, the role of structure-building rules is to say how nodes with different features on them can combine to form a single sentence structure. The former define 'intrabundle' (paradigmatic) relations, the latter define 'interbundle' (syntagmatic) relations."(3)

He goes further in subclassifying syntagmatic relation to say,

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- (1) See Halliday, M.A.K., Categories of the Theory of Grammar, Word, vol. 17, No. 3, 1961, pp.254-55.
  - (2) See Halliday, Types of Process in Kress, G.R. (ed.), "Halliday: System and Function in Language", p.167.
  - (3) See Hudson, R.A., Arguments for Non-transformational Grammar, 1976, p.66.

"There are two types of syntagmatic relation to be shown: dependency relations and sequence relations. A dependency relation is a relation between two features where one of the features is present only when the other is present. In other words, when one depends for its presence in a structure on the presence of the other."(1)

"Sequence (or order - I shan't distinguish between the two terms) is the other type of syntagmatic relation which needs to be defined, and this is done in a daughter-dependency grammar by rules called 'sequence rules'."(2)

However, for the purpose of this study, we would assume that sentences represented in this chapter are called relational since the relationship obtaining between the elements in a 'predicative' sentence structure is one of relation; in a sense of ascription or attribution or equation or location, which are the four semantic types of relational sentences. All occur in a sentence with a modified subject. This occurs regardless of the proper noun which can stand as a subject without modification.

Turning back to our description of modification within relational sentences, the discussion is concerned with modification as realized in NPs, i.e. that which we refer to as a distinctive feature of the subject as the head of a modifier (other than the predicate) in a sentence.

Though Cantarino says

"A nominal sentence usually consists of two parts: one is the subject - a noun or its equivalent about which a statement is made; the other is the predicate - also a noun or

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(1) and (2) Hudson, ibid., pp.66 and 69 respectively.

its equivalent - which specifies or modifies the idea of the existence of the subject. This specification or modification is achieved through a simple juxtaposition of the nominal predicate and the subject. Since this contiguity does not imply any relationship other than mere equivalence, the members do not influence each other mutually with respect to case, which is usually nominative for both,"(1)

the term modification here however is carried out via the nominal phrase structure which consists of a subject head and modifier to which various types of relation can be identified since the modifier gives the element in question the value of being both subject and relational element, and is indeed the sign of predication and relation. So we can say, the element under examination is modified for syntactic and semantic considerations. That is a subject of a predicate and a member of the relational elements which have a significant connection with each other.

For the purpose of this study, we here classify relational sentences into five separate types which, though syntactically similar, are significantly distinguishable by their semantic interpretations in terms of relation. Each class will be dealt with separately on two axes: modification and relation, showing the element about which the modification and relation are made and the elements by which the two terms are used.

By way of introduction, let us examine the six sentences below:

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(1) Cantarino, V., Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose: The Simple Sentence, vol.I, 1974, p.9.

- |      |                              |                      |
|------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| (1)  | /al-liSSu ʔaduwwun .../      | ascriptive           |
|      | 'The thief is an enemy'      |                      |
| (2)  | /al-liSSu huwa al-qātil/     | equational           |
|      | 'The thief is the killer'    |                      |
| (3)  | /ʔabūka dū mā/               | possessive           |
|      | 'Your father is wealthy'     |                      |
| (4a) | /al-wardu fī al-ḥadīqah/     | existential locative |
|      | 'flowers are in the garden'  |                      |
| (4b) | /al-kitābu fawqa al-māʔidah/ | locative             |
|      | 'The book is on the table'   |                      |
| (5)  | /al-nasu fī miḥnah/          | circumstantial       |
|      | 'The people are in hardship' |                      |

In the above examples, two points should be made for the linguistic description of relational sentences:

- (1) Firstly, it is treated by the traditional Arab grammarians as a nominal sentence which has two parts: one is the subject and the other is the predicate which stands in direct relationship with the subject. The point to be made here is that the traditionalists used 'existential' <sup>(1)</sup> to cover three different semantic connotations i.e. existential locative, locative and circumstantial. Thus they covered 3 semantically different ideas by the use of a single syntactical structure. We would feel for instance that (4a) is truly an "existential locative", that (b) is "locative" <sup>(1)</sup> and that

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(1) Footnote: Traditional Arab grammarians hypothesised that in sentences like (4a,b and 5 above) there was a latent semantic element which might have had at some earlier stage verbal representatives, i.e. *kāna*, *istaqarra* and *wujida*, or *kaʔinun*, *mustaqirrun* and *mawjud*. Hence the nomenclature "existential" (in the semantic sense), the verbalization of which we re-examine in this chapter since it is freely used in CA.



(5) is "circumstantial", on the grounds that the fourth, but hardly the fifth, can be paraphrased with a sentence containing a verbal element "exist"<sup>(1)</sup> i.e. al-wardu fī al-ḥadīqah. On the other hand, the fifth is manifestly locative in semantic terms. The sixth one is merely circumstantial since the attribute describes only the subject head status. Accordingly, we believe that the distinction between existential locative and locative interpretations depends upon the semantic nature of the relationship between the subject and the attributive predicate. By this we mean that whenever the attribute is a permanent and habitual location for the subject, the structure is truly 'existential', but when the attribute is not linked into the subject, the construction is locative. Therefore in (4a) the relation of locative attribute (fī al-ḥadīqah) is existential, since the location is a "habitual occupation" for the subject (al-ḥadīqahū), while in (4b) the attribute (fawqa al-māʿidah) is locative place; the reason for this is that it refers to a non-habitual location for the subject (al-kitābu). With respect to example (5), the attribute (fī miḥnah) is circumstantial, since the attribute here has neither locatory nor existential value, showing merely the subject status.

It is worth noting that existential sentences usually include space and time references. However, although there are structural similarities between existential, locative

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(1) See Lyons, Introduction..., op.cit., pp.388-90.

and circumstantial sentences, they are semantically different even if they refer to time. Consider the following three sentences:

- a) /al-dirāsatu yawma yawma/ existential locative time  
'Lessons are daily'
- b) /al-dirārāsatu yawma al-sabt/ locative time  
'Lessons will be on Saturday'
- c) /al-marīDu fī al-nazīi al-ʔaxīr/ circumstantial  
'The patient is in the agony of implying time death'

where one might suspect that these sentences which are syntactically similar have an underlying structure, i.e. the underlying structure of (a) is al-dirāsatu [tuqāmu] kulla yawmin, (b) is al-dirāsatu [tabdaʔu] yawma al-Sabt, and (c) is al-marīDu fī [waqti] al-nazīi al-ʔaxīr since the references which the above examples can indicate by their surface structure are: existential locative time as in (a), locative time, and circumstantial implying time as in (b) and (c) respectively. However, it is not as the Arab grammarians assume that the structures referred to above (i.e. those in (3), (4), (5) and (a), (b), (c) imply a verbal element since in a relational type of sentence the relation holds directly between two entities in the surface structure in such a way that they can be said to be subject and predicate without a latent verbal element.

Secondly, and more obviously, the types of semantic relation here are achieved by the combination of two units in a structural configuration. These units are characterized

by structural features which linguistic elements have in a relational sentence. Thus:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Unit 1} \\ \text{al + noun} \\ \text{Noun + pronoun} \\ \text{Noun + adjective} \\ \text{Noun + Noun (in gen)} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Unit 2} \\ \text{indef. adjective} \\ \text{def. element} \\ \text{prepositional phrase} \\ \text{adverbial phrase} \end{array} \right\}$$

In line with this, one can semantically recognize the type of relation involved in the sense that is reflected by the connotation indicated by the connection between the two elements in a given sentence; structurally this relation may be realized in the sentence-elements by the combination of special word-classes, as listed above.

For purposes of description and ease of recognition, relational sentences are formally marked by the following characteristics:

(1) The first element is always modified by a dependent element when functioning as an attributand of a relational sentence. Otherwise the element would be head of a nominal phrase. That is to say, without modification the element in question would not syntactically stand as the attributand of a relational sentence, and would be standing as the head of an NP. So the modification is present here to mark the first part of a relational sentence, and to differentiate between sentence structures and nominal phrases. Compare, for instance, (a) and (b):

a) /al-kitābu jadīd/

'The book is new'

b) /kitābun jadīdun.../

'a new book'

whereas the second element (i.e. the attribute) may or may not be modified by an adverb as in

a) /ʔaxūka Tawīlun jiddan/

'Your brother is very tall'

b) /ʔaxūka Tawīl/

'Your brother is a tall (man)'

(2) In a given sentence, the relational elements are usually juxtaposed, expressing no copulative verb in a language which has no copula to relate the elements of a sentence structure. This may be due to the fact that the functional role which a predicate has in relation to a subject can be identified by the aspects of a sentence structure, i.e. the sequence of a modified element followed by one of the elements: indefinite noun or adjective, adverbial and prepositional phrases is a sign of relational sentence. But in the sequence of two juxtaposed definite elements, where the relationship between the two elements may be ambiguous, the user resorts to the insertion of a pronoun of separation between the two definite nominals, as an overt copula which assigns the relation between them; marking the structure as being a sentence rather than a nominal phrase; furthermore, it is given as a distinctive sign of predication, or rather equation.

In this way, a modified status of an element in relational sentences occurs for the following reasons:

- a) The syntactic function as a subject of a relational sentence;
- b) The realization of an obligatory modification in the first nominal phrase of the sentence sequence, which is virtually postulated for grammatical reasons;
- c) As a distinctive feature of the first term in a relational sentence where it is not present in the second term;
- d) As an optional occurrence with the predicate and
- e) as a semantic interpretation referred to by the relation between the two terms in a relational sentence.

On the other hand modification in nominal phrases within a relational sentence is made by:

- a) the definite article al- prefixed to the element involved,
- b) annexation to a definite or indefinite element,
- c) a following adjective in one NP,
- d) the structure of independent and dependent elements in a syntactic relationship and
- e) the occurrence of an endocentric construction, its structural configuration consisting of a head and modifier in an NP.

After this introduction of the basic features of relational sentences, we proceed to describe each type of relation separately, giving a full treatment to the structure of modification in each type.

(i) Structural analysis of NPs in ascriptive sentences

Under this section the concept of modification plays an important role in constituting the ascriptive sentence since the modification is to be taken as a fundamental feature of the first unit in all relational sentences. So structurally speaking, though the modification which we are concerned with has been dealt with briefly before it is again obligatorily realised through the first part and optionally through the second in a simple sentence. In a complex sentence where we have two layers of sentences or rather where we have a rankshifted sentence the modification is obligatory in the first and second elements and optional with the third. So, in an ascriptive sentence the structure has basically one element in a modified status and the other may or may not be modified, where the former is modified by an element other than an indefinite adjective and the latter may be modified by an element other than the definite article *al-* and a suffixed pronoun. Keeping this description in mind, broadly speaking, the presence of the modifier *al-* or a suffixed pronoun with the attribuant and their absence from the attribute is a distinctive feature of ascriptive relation; in contrast with the equative relation which is recognizable by the presence of *al-* with the attribuant and the attribute which are separated by a pronoun (see below). In this connection, El-Rabbat says,

"In this way, the 'indefiniteness' of the Attribute is a distinctive characteristic of the ascriptive relation since the Attribuant is being classified, but not identified, by means of the definite Attribute." (1)

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(1) El-Rabbat, A.H., The Major Types of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, A participant-process approach, Ph.D., 1978, p.159.

However, ascriptive sentences in reference to 'Modification' in the nominal phrases involved will be classified for purposes of description and structural relationships into two types. Since the basic syntactic structure of ascriptive sentences is one of two types

- (1) def. NP<sup>1</sup> + indef. NP<sup>2</sup>
- (2) def. NP<sup>1</sup> + <sup>2</sup>(def. NP<sup>1</sup> + indef. NP<sup>2</sup>)

### Type I

This type has as its representation two elements: the element subject which occurs typically in sentence initial position and has two elements of structure (i.e. modifier + head or head + modifier), if common noun, and the element predicate which occurs after the subject and may or may not appear in a structure of modification.

For purposes of description and easy recognition of the structure of modification involved, we classify this type into (a) and (b).

A) In this type the initial element is structurally made of al- as a modifier and an element as a head which often has generic reference, fulfilling the conflated roles of subject and Attribuant whereas that mentioned second is an individual element which may be modified, performing the roles of predicate and Attribute together. However, the semantic effect of modifying the predicate is that the modifier will increase the amount of information carried by the structure, or rather it will increase the number of informational units. Thus, we give below the examples

which represent what is referred to here as type 1(A).

- 1a)  $\begin{matrix} M & H \\ /al-hay\bar{a}tu & q\bar{a}siyah/ \end{matrix}$   
 'Life is hard'
- 1b)  $\begin{matrix} M & H & M & H \\ /wa & al-mal\bar{a}^?ikatu & ba\bar{\Sigma}da & d\bar{a}lika & Dah\bar{i}r/ \end{matrix}$   
 'And all the [other] angels will come to his aid' (1)
- 2a)  $/zaydun \Sigma\bar{a}lim/$   
 'Zayd is a scholar'
- 2b)  $\begin{matrix} H & M \\ /zaydun & \Sigma\bar{a}limun & jal\bar{i}l/ \end{matrix}$   
 'Zayd is a great scholar'
- 3a)  $/\Sigma\bar{a}liyyun bal\bar{i}g/$   
 'Ali is eloquent'
- 3b)  $\begin{matrix} M & H & H & M \\ / \Sigma\bar{a}liyyun & jiddu & bal\bar{i}g = & bal\bar{i}gun & jiddan \end{matrix}$   
 'Ali is very eloquent'
- 4a)  $\begin{matrix} M & H \\ /al-\Sigma ilmu & n\bar{a}fi\S/ \end{matrix}$   
 'Knowledge is useful'
- 4b)  $\begin{matrix} M & H & M & H & H & M \\ /al-\Sigma ilmu & haqqu & n\bar{a}fi\S = & n\bar{a}fi\Sun & haqqan/ \end{matrix}$   
 'Knowledge is truly useful'
- 5a)  $/y\bar{u}zufu \text{?}am\bar{i}n/$   
 'Joseph is honest'
- 5b)  $\begin{matrix} H & M \\ /yusufu & rajulun & \text{?}am\bar{i}n/ \end{matrix}$   
 'Joseph is an honest man'

Examining the above illustrations, we note firstly that the elements subject and predicate, which are both present in the structural representation of the nominal sentence, realize the roles of Attribute and Attribuant by virtue of which the sentence is labelled ascriptive.

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.876, verse 4.



Secondly, in the light of the fact that the first elements are marked as Attribuant via the article al-, as in 1(a), (b), and 4(a), (b), or by being a proper noun where no modification is needed, as in 2(a), (b), 3(a), (b), and 5(a), (b), all the sentences in type (A) share one common characteristic, namely they have no "indefinite subject" as Attribuant, whereas the predicate as attribute is always an indefinite noun or adjective<sup>(1)</sup> with or without modification where the modification is supplied by an adjective as in 2(b) and 5(b), and by an adverb as in 1(b), 3(b) and 4(b). Again the structural status of the Attribuant and Attribute gives a definite clue to and pinpoints the nature of ascriptive sentences of type 1(A) in CA. More illustrations:

- a) /al-ʔarwāḥu junūdun mujannadah/  
'Soul like soldiers are conscripted.'
- b) /kullu maʔrūfin Sadaqah/  
'Every favour is a charity'
- c) /al-Dulmu Dulumātun yawma al-qiyaamah/  
'Oppression will put the person who has done it in darkness at the day of judgement'
- d) /al-xaylu maʔqūdun bi nawāSTha al-xayr/  
'God is pinned on Horus'

B) This ascriptive type is similar to the one examined above in six points:

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(1) Regardless of the participles since they refer to aspectual interpretations which are beyond this study.

- (1) The number of components concerned;
- (2) The grammatical status of the two elements in question;
- (3) The obligatory modification of the first common noun;
- (4) The optional modification exhibited at the predicate (via an adjective or adverb) and
- (5) the conflation of the two roles of subject and Attribuant, and predicate and attribute in the sentence structure as one entity;
- (6) The two elements involved have the same referent.

The difference lies in the fact that the modifier of the first part here occurs in the postposed head position, and adds a special meaning to the head since the modifier has a lexical meaning by itself. This provides a point of contrast with type 1(A) where the modifier *al-* has no lexical meaning by itself, but by its combination with a head noun (see Chapter I). The illustrations given below represent type 1(B) of the ascriptive sentences:

- 1a) /ʔaxūka karīm/  
'Your brother is generous'
- 1b) /ʔamrun bi maʔrūfin Sadaqah/  
'An order in friendly manner is a charity'
- 1c) /ḥurrāsu al-maliki ʔahrār/  
'The king's guards are free'
- 1d) /sarru al-bilādi bilādun lā ʔadla fīhā/  
'The worst countries are countries which have no justice'

- 1e) /majlisu ʕilmin xayrun min ʕibādati sanah/  
 'A learned discussion is better than a whole year's  
 worshipping'

These examples testify to the fact that in type I(B) the first element of ascriptives has its function as Attribuant by being modified and marked off by the occurrence of the modifier in the post-head position. In this way, without modification of the first element, sentences like the above would be incomplete and thus they would not stand for an ascriptive relation.

Note that in type I(B) the predicate functioning as 'Attribute' may appear in a comparative form as in 1(e). The semantic effect of this is that the Attribute will be associable with a comparative meaning.

The foregoing discussion shows that ascriptive sentences have a system of the first element with two structural terms: head and modifier. For one thing, the two terms of this system are in operation together as Attribuant in the structural representation of a simple sentence, as seen above.

## Type II

In the above two types, we dealt with modification within ascriptive simple sentences. Here the description concerns type II of complex sentences. This type is formally marked off by the following characteristics:

- (1) The occurrence of two Attribuands in contradistinction to one Attribuant which appears in type I.

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(2) As was pointed out earlier, syntactic structure different from that expressed by type I, i.e.

NP<sup>1</sup> + NP<sup>2</sup> + NP<sup>3</sup> (see p. 99 ).

(3) A pronoun is suffixed to NP<sup>2</sup>, which usually marks off the ascriptive complex sentence and which has a semantic tie-in of 'possessive' in the sense that the noun with which the pronoun suffix occurs is in a possessive relationship with the preceding noun.

The point to be discussed here is that modification occurs in the surface structure of this type for syntactic and semantic reasons. It is probable that the simplest way of accounting for this type is by means of sequence. In this way we can account for the fact that the structural configuration of any complex sentence is due to fixed features, which are a specification of this sentence type and which determine its potentiality of occurrence. That is to say, a sentence with at least four elements of structure which typically serve in this type, such as *zayḍun ?axūhu faqīr* 'Zayd, his brother is poor', is a sentence with the element (Zayd) acting as first subject and Attribuant, the element (?axū) functioning as second subject and Attribuant, the pronoun (hu) 'his', referring anaphorically to the initial element, and the element (faqīr) as Attribute, in which the attribution of such element is made necessary here by the function of the noun it attributes (i.e. the second noun). Both elements are regarded as Attribute in relation to the first element (Zayd). Again this classification is made in terms of the conflation of the

syntactic and semantic functions which each element fulfils, and which is assigned by the grammatical status of each element involved. Therefore it is necessary to take account of the structural relationships of the elements involved in each NP within the ascriptive sentences. Since the ascriptive sentences, broadly speaking, have one or more NP of modification as in (?axūhu) above where (?axū) is the head noun and (hu) is the modifier, representing an NP in the structure of ascription. So, NPs as members of ascriptive sentences are identifiable and classifiable not only on the basis of their ascriptive relation, but also on the basis of their structural configuration which is furnished with the ascriptive relation.

An examination of the following sentences:

- a)  $\begin{matrix} M & H & H & M \\ / \underline{\text{al-rabī}} \underline{\text{ʕu}} & \underline{\text{jawwuhu}} & \text{muʕtadil} / \end{matrix}$   
 'The spring, its weather is clement'
- b)  $\begin{matrix} / \underline{\text{al-xarīfu}} & \underline{\text{jawwuhu}} & \text{mutaqallib} / \end{matrix}$   
 'The autumn, its weather is changeable'
- c)  $\begin{matrix} / \underline{\text{al-Dulmu}} & \underline{\text{martaʕuhu}} & \text{waxīm} / \end{matrix}$   
 'Oppression, its posture is of evil consequences'
- d)  $\begin{matrix} H & M & H & M \\ / \underline{\text{hārisu}} & \underline{\text{al-ḥadīqati}} & \underline{\text{faDluhu}} & \underline{\text{kabīr}} / \end{matrix}$   
 'The gardener, his favour is great'
- e)  $\begin{matrix} / \underline{\text{al-fārisu}} & \underline{\text{al-ḥiSānu}} & \text{mutʕibuh} / \end{matrix}$   
 'The horseman, the horse is making him tired'
- f)  $\begin{matrix} H & M & H & M \\ / \underline{\text{qawli}} & \underline{\text{nasru}} & \underline{\text{al-taʕlīmi}} & \underline{\text{Darūriyy}} / \end{matrix}$   
 'My word is that the spread of education is necessary'
- shows that the Attribuant in the first and second positions in (a-f) is modified by al-, a suffixed pronoun and an

annexed item. As was pointed out earlier, the modification in the above examples is syntactically obligatory and achieved by means of the nominal phrases.

It is important to stress in this connection that the postulated modifier here has the syntactic effect of producing the one - place subject as in type I and two - place subject as in type II whose sentence predicate is usually paraphrased of a qualificative clause. Compare for instance the two examples below:

- a) /al-wardu fātinun ?alwānuh/  
'The flower is fascinating as to its colour'
- b) /al-wardu ?alwānuhu fātinah/  
'The flower, its colour is fascinating'

Contrasting the above two types of examples of ascription, we notice that (a) has one element (al-ward) 'the flower', functioning as Attribuant and qualificative clause (fātinun ?alwānuh) 'fascinating as to colour', as Attribute, (b) has two elements (al-wardu wa ?alwānuh) 'the flower and its colour' functioning as Attribuands and the element (fātinah) 'fascinating' as Attribute, which increases by one the number of the participants in the ascriptive sentence, producing a complex sentence. This complexity however is made by what we may describe as interference of two sentences in which the second (?alwānuhu fātinah) is a sub-sentence which is made by fronting the (verbal) subject (?alwānuh) in (a) (i.e. in fātinun ?alwānuh) to prepose the verbal element (fātinah) as in (b), hence the second Attribuant is yielded. So, the ascriptive complex sentence is distinguishable by

its components: Attribuant<sup>1</sup> + Attribuant<sup>2</sup> + Attribute and ascriptive simple sentence by: Attribuant + Attribute. Again, both simple and complex sentences have one thing in common, the Attribuant involved must be modified (if a common noun).

Note that in (b) the second Attribuant with its Attribute is functioning as Attribute in relation to the first. It is worthwhile mentioning that the second attribuant with its attribute (in type II) are given prominence on both the syntactic and the phonological levels. That is to say, these two elements are singled out by structural features and position in a complex sentence, which make this type contrast with its paraphrased corresponding counterpart e.g. *zaydun ʔaxūhu faqīr* 'Zayd, his brother is poor' or 'zayd is the one whose brother is poor' is in contrast with *ʔaxū zaydin faqīr* 'Zayd's brother is poor'. The object is to draw special attention to the second unit in type II. Phonologically, it is given prominence via receiving the tonic, since they are realised in this way for focus reasons.

#### Reversible and non-reversible ascriptive sentences

For purposes of thematisation, CA allows the reversal of the predicate in simple sentences provided that the predicate is an indefinite NP consisting of a head and modifier, whereas the reversal of the sentence predicate in a complex sentence can be made without restriction. Contrast (1) and (2) below:

- 1a) /al-furātu nahrun ʕadb/  
 'The Euphrates is a fresh river'  
 is reversible to  
 /nahrun ʕadbun al-furāt/  
 'The Euphrates is a fresh river'
- 1b) /al-furātu nahr/  
 'The Euphrates is a river'  
 is non-reversible, i.e.  
 \*/nahrun al-furāt/, and
- 1c) /al-furātu ʕadb/  
 'The Euphrates is a fresh water'  
 is non-reversible, i.e.  
 \*/ʕadbun al-furāt/
- 2) /zaydun ʔabūhu karīm/  
 'Zayd, his father is generous'  
 is reversible to  
 /ʔabūhu karīmun zayd/  
 'Zayd, his father is generous'

From the above, it emerges that in 1(a) and (b-c) the presence versus the absence of a modifier with the noun phrase-predicate constitutes a system of reversible v. non-reversible predicate respectively, which operates only for simple sentences; in (2) the sentence predicate is quite reversible without any condition.

Although, in principle, reversibility of the predicate involved in an ascriptive sentence is regarded as a potential feature common to both types of ascriptive sentence represented so far, the reversal cannot be made in



instances where the predicate is a single element. Hence the elements representing the predicate in 1(b and c) are not reversible. In clearer terms, the reversibility of the predicate - which operates in a simple sentence - to the initial position is a feature characteristic of modified predicates whether they are modified by an adjectival element or annexed word. The modification thus makes the reversibility of the predicate possible in contradistinction with non-modified predicate. Note however that modification in NPs within ascriptive sentences is maintained whether the structure is reversible or not. For further illustrations on reversibility in type I, contrast the following pairs of examples where (a) is reversible, but not (b).

a) /al-sahābu buxārun kaṭīf/  
'The clouds are a thick fume'

is reversible to

/buxārun kaṭīfun al-sahāb/  
'The clouds are a thick fume'

b) /al-sahābu buxār/  
'The clouds are fume'

but not

\*/buxārun al-sahāb/

a) /al-barqu sarāratun kahrabiyyah/  
'The lightning is an electric spark'  
is reversible to  
/sarāratun kahrabiyyatun al-barq/  
'The lightning is an electric spark'

- b) /al-barqu sarārah/  
 'The lightning is a spark'  
 but not  
 \*/sarāratun al-barq/  
 a) /zaydun rajulu salām/  
 'Zayd is a man of peace'  
 is reversible to  
 /rajulu salāmin zayd/  
 'Zayd is a man of peace'  
 b) /zaydun rajul/  
 'Zayd is a man'  
 but not  
 \*/rajulun zayd/

The last point to be mentioned here is that predicative elements have been regarded as Attributes in relation to the subject in a sense of ascription. Predicates can further be sub-classified in terms of their other semantic properties i.e. the predicate may be classificatory or possessive. If the sentence structure is:

- (1) definite subject + indefinite predicate, i.e.

hāda al-Tālibu ganiyy 'This student is rich'

the predicate ganiyy 'rich' would be classificatory since it classifies the subject al-Tālib 'the student', as being one of the rich students. But if the structure is:

- (2) definite subject + definite subject + indefinite

predicate, i.e. hāda al-Tālibu ?abūhu ganiyy 'This student,

his father is rich' the predicate at the element (ganiyy)

would be classificatory to the subject (?abūhu) 'his father',

and at the sentence level (?abūhu ganiyy) 'his father is rich', would be possessive to the subject (al-Tālib) 'the student'.

(ii) Features of the NP in equational sentences

In the previous section we have dealt with the nominal phrases in ascriptive sentences. In this section, we are concerned with the description of nominal phrases in equational sentences. These are similar to type I of ascriptives in two respects:

(1) There are two entities representing the subject and the predicate.

(2) The two entities involved have the same referent, in which equational sentences are also classified into (a) and (b) for purposes of description.

A) This type of sentence (i.e. equational sentences) is marked by the following characteristics:

(i) The presence of the so-called *Damīru al-faSl* the pronoun of separation between their two elements i.e. the subject and the predicate. Hence the pronoun of separation is presented to serve as a copula, or rather as a definite sign of equational sentences in contradistinction with their corresponding nominal phrases. Emile Benvensite says in this connection,

"But the function of predication can be given a definite sign: it is the so-called pronoun of the third singular that serves as the "copua", it is then inserted between the subject and the predicate." (1)

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(1) See Benvensite, E., Problems in General Linguistics, University of Miami, translated by Mary Elizabeth, 1971, p.165. For more discussion on this quotation see Chapter 5 on adjectives.

So structurally speaking, when two definite nominal phrases are juxtaposed the insertion of the pronoun of separation is necessary to mark predication as against modification since the absence of the pronoun from a string like this would easily be interpreted as a nominal phrase. To illustrate this, compare:

- a) /al-Σulamā?u al-?abTālu.../  
'The brave scholars...'
- b) /al-Σulamā?u humu al-?abTāl/  
'Scholars are brave'

These two examples show that (a) has two juxtaposed elements without separation representing a nominal phrase with al-Σulamā?u 'the scholars', as head noun and al-?abTālu 'the brave', as modifier, and (b) has the same two elements separated by the pronoun hum by which the elements represent a complete and equative sentence with al-Σulamā?u as subject, hum as copula and al-?abTāl as predicate. In this way we can see that the insertion of the pronoun between two definite elements is a distinctive characteristic of the relational sentence; and the structure will be readily interpreted as equative.

It is worth mentioning here that the Arab grammarians assume that examples like (a) above without the pronoun of separation tolerate two syntactic considerations, i.e. being a nominal phrase or sentence since the second element can be either an adjective or predicate.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) This point will be discussed again under the label Attributive nouns (see Chapter 5).

Attention should be drawn to the fact that in our analysis we did not recognize examples like (a) as involving a predicate in the way that the Arab grammarians do. The reason for this is that the two definite elements which are juxtaposed are viewed as a single nominal phrase, not a sentence, since the first element is being described, but not predicated, by means of the pronominal association with the second element. By this we mean that in the NP the first element is being modified, but not identified, by the presence of the pronoun in equative sentences. In this manner, the occurrence of equational sentences with two definite NPs marked al- without the pronoun of separation is eliminated.

Benvensite assumes that,

"...whenever the structure of a language permits the construction of a predicative utterance by the juxtaposition of two nominal forms in a free order, one should grant that a pause separates them. Under this condition, the nominal forms assure the predication." (1)

What is of immediate concern to us here is that CA does not give this pause the value of separation in assigning the structure of predication as Benvensite assumed. For this reason, we disagree with his view that 'pause' is the marker of equational sentences since this pause may be just a personal feature, which cannot be generalized. Furthermore, in normal speech this pause is not always present. In addition, the pause may occur in the presence of the pronoun of separation within such sentences.

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(1) See Benvensite, op.cit., Chapter 16, p.165.

However, the only possible environment for a structure of predication given without a pronoun of separation is where the structure is in response to a preceding question.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the equational sentence has a structural configuration of two elements separated by a pronoun. To be descriptively accurate, we must state that this type of structure is made of two definite nominal phrases with a pronoun that is used to mark the equative sentence - in contradistinction to the ascriptive sentence, and nominal phrase - structurally associable with modification. However, though on the surface structure, the structure of modification here might look peripheral because of its striking similarity with the nominal phrase type (see Chapter 6 below), we treat it here since it provides points of contrast with type (1) in ascriptives. The illustrations given below represent the equative type, together with their type (1) ascriptive correlates:

- a)        <sup>M</sup> /al-ʕilmu <sup>H</sup> huwa <sup>M</sup> al-kafīlu <sup>H</sup> bi al-ruqiyy/  
           'Knowledge is the guarantor of progress'
- b)        /al-ʕilmu kafīlun bi al-ruqiyy/  
           'Knowledge is a guarantor of progress'
- a)        /al-ʕaqlu huwa al-hāris  
           'The mind is the protector'
- b)        /al-ʕaqlu hāris/  
           'The mind is a protector'

Now if we contrast the equative (a) and ascriptive sentences (b) presented above, we will note three facts

with reference to the application of modification.

(i) In (a) the second equative element is modified by al-; whereas in (b) the second ascriptive element is not, although both are preceded by a relational modified element. In other words, in (a) the second element matches the first structurally by having the modifier al-, while in (b) it is marked by the absence of al- (i.e. the second v. the first element). The presence of al- with the second element thus is a characteristic feature of the equative relation, and its absence is a reference to an ascriptive relation, as in (a) and (b) respectively.

(ii) According to the variety of the structural configurations, equative and ascriptive sentences have different semantic functions where the former has a predicate modified by al- functioning as an identificatory component and the latter has a predicate without al- functioning as a classificatory component. So structurally, the equatives are identified + identifier and the ascriptives are Attribuant + Attribute.

(iii) In equative sentences the two elements involving the pronoun have the same referent since the meaning of equational relation is exclusive whereas the meaning of ascriptive relation is inclusive in which the Attribuant is considered as a member of a class.

(iv) As stated earlier, the presence of the modifier al- with the identifier in equative sentences makes it reversible whereas the absence of al- with the Attribute makes it non-reversible as in type I CA.

For the sake of exemplification, compare:

- |    |   |                |
|----|---|----------------|
| a) | /zaydun huwa al- <u>suja</u> Σ/<br>'Zayd is the brave man'  | identificatory |
| b) | /zaydun <u>suja</u> Σ/<br>'Zayd is a brave man' (1)   | classificatory |
| c) | /zaydun huwa al- <u>suja</u> Σ/<br>'Zayd is the brave man'<br>/al- <u>suja</u> Σu huwa zayd/<br>'The brave man is Zayd' | reversible     |
| d) | /zaydun <u>suja</u> Σ/<br>'Zayd is a brave man'   | non-reversible |
| e) | /xālidun huwa al-qā?id/<br>'Khālid is the leader'   | exclusive      |
| f) | /xālidun qā?id/<br>'Khalid is a leader'   | inclusive      |

B) This type and 2(A) described above have two distinctive characteristics in common. Namely: they have two equative elements, and their predicate is identificatory in the sense that the predicate and the subject have the same referent, though the prefixation of al- here is rarely used. Nevertheless, this type is distinguished by the following features:

(i) The predicate may or may not show the definite article al- preceding the first element of an annexation structure, provided that the former is an adjective or participle functioning as an adjective.

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(1) These two terms are borrowed from Beeston, op.cit., p.66.



(ii) The structure of equative sentences in this type can be made without the occurrence of the pronoun of separation, i.e. the sequence of the equative elements, which typically appears in this type, is a distinctive feature of this type since the second element is sufficient to stand as a predicate in annexation, in contrast with its counterpart type (A) where the pronoun is inserted otherwise than as an NP, as illustrated above. In this way, the structural variation can be represented as follows:

Type 2 (A)

$$\text{def. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{al- + element} \\ \text{a proper noun} \\ \text{(identified)} \end{array} \right\} + \text{pronoun} + \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{al- + element} \\ \text{(identifier)} \end{array} \right]$$

Type 2 (B)

$$\text{def. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{al- + element} \\ \text{a proper noun} \\ \text{annexation st.} \\ \text{(identified)} \end{array} \right\} - \text{pronoun} + \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{element} \\ \text{element} \end{array} \right] + \text{al- +} \\ \text{(identifier)}$$

Consider the two pairs of examples below where (a) represents type 2(a), and (b) represents type 2(b).

a) /al-kitābu huwa al-nāfiʿ/

'The book is the thing of use'

b) /al-Daʿīfu ʿamīru al-rakb/

'The weak man is the commander of the riders'

a) /al-ganiyyu huwa al-qanūʿ/

'The (only time) wealth is contentment'

b) /al-junūdu ḥārisū al-waṭan/

'The soldiers are the guards of the country'

- a) /al-jaysu huwa al-ḥamī ḥima al-waṭan/  
'The army is the protector of the country'
- b) /jawwu miṣra raqīqu al-nasamāt/  
'The weather of Egypt is delicate in winter'

From the above, it appears that

- a) the presence versus the absence of a pronoun of separation constitutes a contrast between (a) and (b) (i.e. identificatory of separation v. identificatory of annexation).
- b) The insertion of a pronoun does not take place; when the predicate is an annexation structure of which the annexed word is an adjective or participle adjectivally used as in (b) respectively.

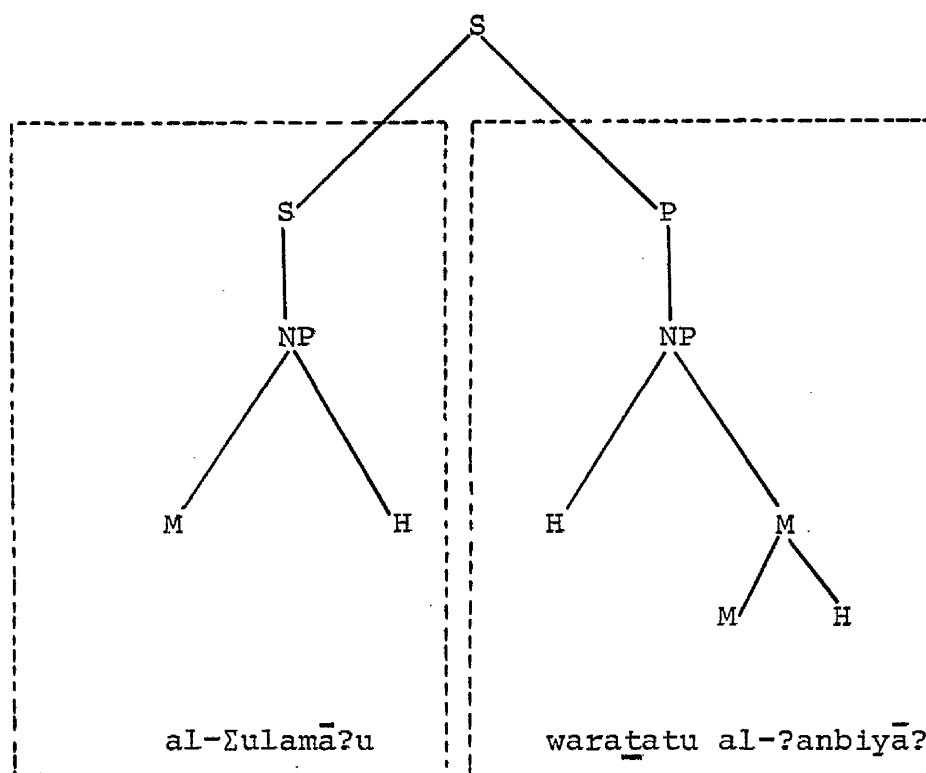
It is necessary to point out here that a pronoun may be inserted between the two elements of type (b), provided the predicate has an annexed noun or verbal noun e.g.

- a) /al-ʔāxiratu hiya dāru al-qarār/  
'The world to come is the everlasting'
- b) /al-lamamu huwa muqārabatu al-danb/  
'The slight crime is to approach sin'

However, the pronoun is not inserted here for separation, but for focus reasons, since without the insertion of the pronoun the elements involved form a complete sentence which is marked by a predicate of annexation structure. This means that the pronoun here is optionally deletable i.e. the pronoun can be omitted in cases in which the sense is perfectly clear without it in the context.

Whatever the representation of type (b) is, the modification is still the pivot of its syntactic and semantic functions. Thus a sentence like the above is complete and equative, provided its occurrence is associated with the modification of the two elements involved. This can be diagrammed as follows:

Type (b)



identified + identifier = equative sentence

'The scholars are the successor of the prophets'

Finally, we do not propose, by demonstrating relational, ascriptive and equative sentences, to study them in detail. Our purpose is to show that:

- a) Each type is basically defined by its structural configuration of modification.

- b) The structure of modification is obligatory in the NPs of both types.
- c) modification is important in establishing the relation between the two elements involved, or rather the realization of their relation depends on the occurrence of modification.
- d) Where modification is applied in 'ascriptive' and 'equative' sentences, they are distinguishable and analyzable as involving two terms of relation.

(iii) Forms of NPs in possessive sentences

The nomenclature "possessive sentence" used here rests upon the assumption that the relation between the subject and the predicate involved is one of "possession". In other words, the "possessor" is being described by the thing "possessed" by way of attribution, or rather it is being characterized by the thing 'possessed' by way of ascription. This function is performed by the subject and the predicate in possessive sentences, where the latter comprises the grammatical and lexical meanings of possession. As in ascriptive sentences, the possessor may be a proper noun or a modified noun and the possessed element which functions as a classificatory predicate is always modified.

So, reference will be made to the structures of modification which occur in each given example.

Consider:

- 1a)  $\begin{matrix} & \text{NP} & & \text{NP} & & \\ & (\text{H} & \text{M}) & (\text{H} & \text{M}) & \\ / & \text{Sadiqi} & \text{dū} & \text{malin} & \text{wa} & \text{banin} / \end{matrix}$   
 'My friend is wealthy and has sons'
- 1b)  $\begin{matrix} & \text{NP} & & \text{NP} & & \\ & (\text{M} & \text{H}) & (\text{H} & \text{M}) & \\ / & \text{hadihi} & \text{al-fatatu} & \text{dātu} & \text{jamal} / \end{matrix}$   
 'This girl is beautiful'
- 1c)  $\begin{matrix} & \text{PP} & & \text{NP} & & \\ & (\text{M} & \text{H}) & (\text{M} & \text{H}) & \\ / & \text{?ulā?ikā} & \text{lahum} & \text{al-?amn} / \end{matrix}$   
 'These people have security'
- 1d)  $\begin{matrix} & \text{M} & \text{H} & \text{H} & & \text{M} \\ / & \text{Σaliyyun} & \text{Σindahu} & \text{qalamun} & \text{nafis} / \end{matrix}$   
 'Ali has a precious pen'

The sentences referred to above (i.e. those in a-d) represent the possessive relation since the predicates which they contain have a feature of possession, i.e. the elements dū, dātu, lahum and Σindahu indicate possession with which the following elements carry the idea of possession. With regard to the structural configuration, these predicates differ from (a and b) to (c and d) in representing the possessed element, the former are the indicators dū and dātu annexed to the possessed element in bound form, the latter are la and Σinda suffixed by a coterminous pronoun followed by the possessed element. Hence, in surface structure terms, the extendible elements lahum and Σindahu are related to the possessed element by virtue of the occurrence of an anaphoric pronoun, whereas the

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(1) Σinda and ladā below may be used as in adverbial phrases, meaning to express a locative or circumstantial relation with the subject according to the context, as they are used here as a verbal particle, meaning to possess (see below)

elements dū and dātu have no pronoun. Furthermore, the predicate in (a and b) is a nominal phrase, whereas in (c and d) the predicate is a simple sentence. The following examples are sufficient to show that structures like the predicate in (c and d) can be an independent sentence with possessive feature.

- 2a)  $\begin{matrix} M & H & & H & & M \\ / & \text{lahu} & \underline{\text{sarafun}} & \text{Sā'id} / \end{matrix}$   
 'He has a high rank'
- 2b)  $\begin{matrix} M & H & & H & & M \\ / & \underline{\text{ʔindaka}} & \text{kitābun} & \text{jadīd} / \end{matrix}$   
 'You have a new book'
- 2c)  $\begin{matrix} M & H & M & H \\ / & \underline{\text{lanā}} & \underline{\text{al-dunyā}} / \end{matrix}$   
 'Ours is the life on earth'
- 2d)  $\begin{matrix} M & H \\ / & \underline{\text{ladayhi}} & \underline{\text{dirham}} / \end{matrix}$   
 'He has a dirham'

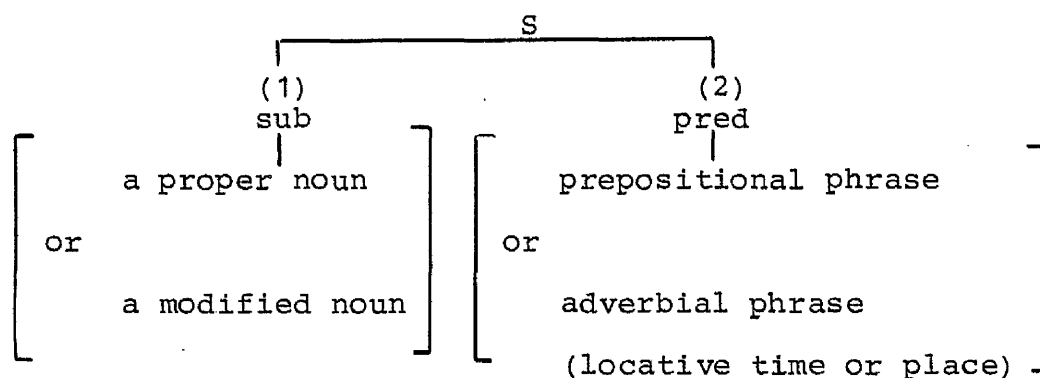
Again the underlined elements have a possessive relation. The assignment of this relation is based on the grounds that the first element involves a particle as indicator and a suffixed pronoun as possessor, and the second represents the possessed thing (be it modified as in 2a-c or not as in 2d); a characteristic common to all (examples 2) above, where the particle with the pronoun occupies *initial or final*: the initial position with a modified element (examples 2a-c), but *must occupy initial position* when followed by a non-modified element (example 2d). Note that these examples are reversed structures.

The possessive relation is nevertheless fulfilled here within the framework of our description, a relational

feature (i.e. possession) in a sentence can only be regarded as grammatical and therefore a "sentence feature" if it has formal properties correlating with the demonstrable semantic properties (i.e. possessive properties): i.e. the two elements which represent the possessor and the possessed are associated with modificatory forms, although the possessor may be unmodified when it occurs in the second position, as in (2d).

(iv) Modification in sentences of locative relation

Under this title, the description is devoted to a class of sentences which is made by the sequence of two elements, designated for this purpose. To diagram this, consider:



where the located noun is proper or common and the locative phrase is prepositional or adverbial of time or place. The relationship obtaining between the subject and the predicate thus is one of location in a sense of attribution. That is to say, the prepositional or adverbial phrase which occurs in the surface structure of a sentence is attributed to describe the subject's location (be it in time or place).

To illustrate this, consider the following two pairs of examples where those in (1) involve adverbial phrases

expressing a relation of locative time and place, and those in (2) involve prepositional phrases referring to locative time and place, respectively.

- |     |  |                |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 1a) | /al-safaru gaḍan/                                | locative time  |
|     | 'The journey is tomorrow'                        |                |
| 1b) | /wa al-rakbu ʔasfala minkum/                     | locative place |
|     | 'While the caravan was below you' <sup>(1)</sup> |                |
| 2a) | /al-wardu fī al-rabīʔ/                           | locative time  |
|     | 'The flower is in spring'                        |                |
| 2b) | /al-hārisu fī al-bāb/                            | locative place |
|     | 'The guard is at the door'                       |                |

In the sentences (1) and (2) above, although the syntactic structure is similar, the subject and the predicate are in a completely different semantic relation, i.e. locative of time v. locative of place. Note that we do not propose to present existential and non-existential relations mentioned above. Our purpose here is to demonstrate the immediate relation between the two elements involved in this type of sentences, which is a semantic interpretation fulfilled by a structure involving modification. To put it more clearly, the relationship obtaining between the subject and the predicate is designated by the sentence - elements occurring which are in this case a modified element associated with prepositional or adverbial phrase, each having the functional pattern <sup>(2)</sup> located subject + locative predicate. Note again that locative sentences are like their relational

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(1) Asad, *op.cit.*, p.245, verse 42.

(2) This term is borrowed from Berry, M., Introduction to Systemic Linguistic, vol. 1, 1975, p.79.



counterparts marked by the presence of the article al- or an adjective acting as 'modifier' in their surface structure, if the head is an indefinite common noun. Thus a structure like rajulun fī al-dāri... is an NP unless its occurrence is associated with the modification of the subject (i.e. al-rajulu or rajulun Tawīlun fī al-dār). It should be emphasized here that the presence of a prepositional or adverbial phrase referred to above, though determined by its occurrence with a modified noun, is also conditioned by the linguistic context to express a locative relation; a linguistic context which assigns the function of the prepositional or adverbial phrase as locative or circumstantial or possessive. To clarify this assumption, we give, by way of exemplification, the following sentences where the predicates are prepositional or adverbial phrases expressing different semantic functions and that the choice of each function is dependent on the linguistic context: i.e. the prepositional or adverbial phrase which represents the predicate of the sentence shows various semantic functions, although the sentences in which it occurs have the same syntactic structure:

- |     |   |                |
|-----|---|----------------|
| 1a) | /al-maṣādinu fī jawfi al-ʔarD/                | locative       |
|     | 'Metal is inside the earth'                   |                |
| 1b) | /al-ginā fī al-taṣawwuf/                      | circumstantial |
|     | 'Wealth is in the Sufi way of life'           |                |
| 1c) | /hāda al-kitābu fī ḥawzatih/                  | possessive     |
|     | 'This book is in his possession'              |                |
| 2a) | /al-Sabru ʔinda al-ṣadāʔid/                   | loc.           |
|     | 'Patience is discovered at times of calamity' |                |

- 2b) /hāda al-qawlu Σindī Sawab/  
'This assertion is right in my opinion'
- 2c) /hāda al-rajulu Σindahu xayr/  
'This man has goodness'
- 3a) /al-bi?ru bayna al-baladayn/  
'The well is between the two villages'
- 3b) /al-qawmu bayna qatīlin wa ?asīr/  
'The tribe was partly slain, and partly taken prisoner'
- 3c) /al-mālu bayn zaydīn wa Σamr/  
'The property is equally possessed by Zayd and 'Amr'  
'Zayd and 'Amr have the property in equal proportion'

However, the sentences presented above do not exhaust all the possible relations which can be given by sentences involving a prepositional or adverbial phrase as predicate. They are used, by way of exemplification, to express different semantic relations in sentences, which have in common a predicate introduced by the same preposition or adverb, depending upon the linguistic context. Again, as was pointed out earlier, (see the previous sections on relational sentences), the relationship obtaining between the two elements is a feature of such sentences; and the modificatory forms are furnished for this purpose, or rather the modification is the participant in the structural configuration of relational sentences.

#### Circumstantial relation

In the previous section we have examined the relation holding between the subject and the predicate which is

represented by a prepositional or adverbial phrase, whether the relation involved is a locative of time or place in a sense of attribution. Here the prepositional and adverbial phrases with a modified (or definite) subject function as circumstantial attributes, since the relation is carried out via a circumstantial phrase.

The following sentences will serve to illustrate the circumstantial relation of a prepositional or adverbial phrase with a modified subject:

- (a) /al-najātu fī al-Sidq/  
'Safety lies in speaking the truth'
- (b) /al-qawmu fī haraj/  
'The tribe is in difficulty'
- (c) /al-jannatu tahta ʔaḡdāmi al-ʔummahāt/  
'Paradise lies in obeying one's mother'
- (d) /al-ʔimāmu fawqa al-subuhāt/  
'The Imam is above suspicion'
- (e) /al-matāʔu bayn bayn/  
'Property is between good and bad'

The underlined elements have the function of circumstantial attribute by being in an X manner/way, but not in location, by expressing locational meaning. That is to say, the circumstantial relation is carried by elements which have no locatory value. For this relation, modification is obligatorily furnished in the subject element, and optionally in the predicate. Hence the relationship is being held between the subject and the predicate, and is one of circumstance.

However, the circumstantial relation is not always achieved by a prepositional or adverbial phrase as the above illustrations may suggest, but a circumstantial relation may also be achieved by elements other than the prepositional or adverbial phrase. The traditional Arab grammarians have realized this point, (i.e. the expression of the circumstantial relation by elements other than prepositional and adverbial phrases) in which they say that the elements that fill the position of the predicate with a verbal noun as subject are called *ḥālun sāddatun masadda al-xabar* 'a circumstantial term supplying the place of the predicate. They assumed that, for instance, the element *qāʾiman* 'standing up', in the sentence *Darbī zaydan qāʾiman* 'My striking Zayd (while he was) standing up', is  $\int$  *ḥālun sāddatun masadda al-xabar* a circumstantial phrase replacing the predicate and not the predicate of the subject (*Darbī*).<sup>(1)</sup>

What is of immediate concern to our description in connection with this type of structure is that the initial element of this type is often a verbal noun modified by a suffixed personal pronoun (e.g. - *ī* 'my', in *Darbī*), the second is modified by *al-*, if common noun and the last one is an adjectival element which describes the status of an entity mentioned in the main sentence.

Keeping this description in mind, three points should be taken into account, which are reckoned as a feasible

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(1) Abd al-Hamīd, M.M., *ʔawdahū al-masālikī ʔilā ʔalfiyyati ibni mālik*, IV vols., Cairo, 1967.  
See also Ḥasan, *op.cit.*, vol.I, 1967, pp.522-524.

characteristic of this type:

(i) The sentence in this type is complex in which the last element is the complement of an entity showing a subordinate status; which signals the circumstantial function in relation to that entity, e.g. qirā?atī al-naṣīda maktūban 'My reading the anthem (when it was) written'.

(ii) The circumstantial phrase here is similar to that given with verbal sentences<sup>(1)</sup> since it is a conversion of a circumstantial clause, or rather the conversion is being made from circumstantial clause to circumstantial phrase. Thus, the circumstantial relation is represented by a phrase in subordinate status. For instance, the phrase sā?ilan in surbī al-dawā?a sā?ilan 'My drinking the medicine (while it is) liquid', is assumed to be a converted phrase of the circumstantial clause: wa huwa sā?il 'while it is liquid', and the element jāḷisan 'sitting down', in qirā?ati al-wirda jāḷisan 'My reading the citation (while I was) sitting down', is a converted phrase of the circumstantial clause: wa?anā jāḷis 'while I was sitting down', both of which are expressed in the subordinate representation.

What is relevant to this point here is that, though the subordinate phrases given above are regarded as circumstantial representatives in relation to the previous entity in the main sentence, the assignment of the function of the element involved as a modifier to the preceding object rather than the agent and vice versa depends on the linguistic context, though it appears always in the accusative case. This may

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(1) See Beeston, op.cit., pp.95-96.

be related to the fact that the 'circumstantial element' which modifies the object is a paraphrase of the circumstantial clause-predicate which consists of the functional *wa* + second person pronoun + element, whereas what modifies the agent is a paraphrase of *wa* + first person pronoun + element, as illustrated above.

(iii) An ambiguity may arise, when the circumstantial element can be referred to both the agent and the object, in that the element involved may modify the agent or the object. For instance, the element *Sagīran* 'young' in *liḏbī maʿa zaydin Sagīran* 'My playing with Zayd (when he was or I was) young' tolerates two interpretations: *wa huwa Sagīr* 'when he was young', and *wa ʔanā Sagīr* 'when I was young'.

(iv) The predicate involved in circumstantial clauses is coverable within the structure of the clause.

(v) The "circumstantial" structure contrasts with its counterpart of the ascriptive type in that the structural element *p* in the ascriptive type appears with a case ending matching the subject in which it describes the action carried out by the subject, whereas in the circumstantial type, the phrase in the predicate position has the syntactic marker of subordinate status (i.e. accusative case); this again shows that it refers to the adverbial function and modificatory value in relation to the agent or the object in the sentence involved. Compare:

- |    |  |                |
|----|--|----------------|
| a) | $\begin{array}{cc} \text{S} & \text{P} \\ /ʔikrāmī & al-Dayfa \end{array}$ | ascriptive     |
|    | 'My hospitality towards the guest is great'                                |                |
| b) | $\begin{array}{cc} \text{H} & \text{M} \\ /ʔaklī & al-Taʿāma \end{array}$  | circumstantial |
|    | 'My eating the food (while it is) well-cooked'                             |                |

- c)  $\frac{H}{/sarhi}$  al-darsa  $\frac{M}{jalisan/}$  circumstantial  
 'My illustration of the lesson (while I am) sitting down'

So far the object of our description was to identify the class of circumstantial clauses, which are touched upon here for the purpose of this study, since they are in all cases based on considering the structural configuration of modification as the apparent features of this type of clause as well as the previous relational clauses. So, although a clause like the above may be paraphrased as a structure of two participants which occur in association with the process of action, the participant-relationship holding between the two elements is still that of the relational terms: Attribuant-circumstantial Attribute, overtly marked by modification. Further illustrations:

- a)  $\frac{H}{/?aktaru}$   $\frac{H}{surbi}$   $\frac{M}{al-sawiqa}$   $\frac{M}{maltutan/}$   
 'Most of my drinking wheat occurs (while it is) mixed with water'
- b)  $\frac{H}{/Darbi}$   $\frac{M}{al-gulama}$   $\frac{M}{musi?an/}$   
 'My striking the boy occurred (when he/I was) displeasing'
- c)  $\frac{H}{/musā?adatī}$   $\frac{M}{al-rajula}$   $\frac{M}{muhta?ajan/}$   
 'My helping the man occurred (when he was) in need'
- d)  $\frac{H}{/duxūlī}$   $\frac{M}{al-ma?rakata}$   $\frac{M}{musta?iddan/}$   
 'My entering the battle occurred (when I was) ready'
- e)  $\frac{M}{/?axTabu}$   $\frac{H}{mā}$   $\frac{M}{yakūnu}$   $\frac{M}{al-?amīru}$   $\frac{M}{waqifan/}$   
 'The most elegant times of the prince were when he was standing'

To finish off this discussion of the components of structural relation within the labelled circumstantial clauses, we represent this point diagrammatically.

- (1) Circumstantial (relational component)

surbi al-māʾa bāridan

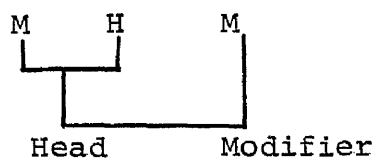
Attribuand      circumstantial Attribute

'My drinking the water was (while it was) cold'

- (2) Head and modifier (modificatory component)

surbi                      al-māʿa bārīdan

## Head Modifier



Head	Modifier
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'My drinking of the cold water'



### CHAPTER III

#### RELATIVE CLAUSES AS POST MODIFIERS

##### Introduction

In Chapter Two we have examined the modification in nominal phrases within relational sentences. We have also touched upon some subordinate clauses as post modifiers. Here the description is devoted to relative clauses or rather subordinate clauses in relation to the preceding noun. The object is to illustrate the syntactic and semantic features of relative clauses in a given NP since there are interrelationships between these two levels which have not been given as much attention as they deserve. The statements in this chapter thus serve to clarify the complex state of affairs. However, the present demonstration of CA relative clauses is given to represent the function of relative clauses as post modifiers in nominal phrases on two axes: syntactic and semantic. The analysis assumes that the syntactic features depend on choices made at the semantic level.

Before we go further it is worth stating that Quirk has defined the complex noun phrase as having three components,

"(a) The head, around which the other components cluster and which dictates concord and other kinds of congruence with the rest of the sentence outside the noun phrase... (b) The premodification, which comprises all the items placed before the head - notably adjectives and nouns... (c) The post modification, comprising all the items placed after the head - notably..., and relative clauses." (1)

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(1) Quirk, op.cit., pp.375-76.

The components in the first place are semantic options. They are in turn represented by the syntactic exponents which typically appear in the structural representation of an NP involving relative clause.

To shed more light on this point, the relationship between the two elements of semantic choices in a complex noun phrase which involves a relative clause is one of subordination so that they have different syntactic status, one being dependent upon the other. A corollary to this is that the role of the relative clause as a modifier to a Head noun figures in the structural representation of such clauses whether the relative clauses involved have a relative pronoun or zero pronoun.

In the course of this discussion, we illustrate the types of relative clauses which function as post modifier in a given NP.

- (1) /fī tilka al-buqʕati allatī iṣṭalaha al-nāsu  
ʕalā tasmiyatiha jazīrata alʕarab/

'In that place which people called the Arabian Peninsula'

- (2) /ʔinnahā ʔawdiyatun yajrī fihā al-māʔu ḥīnan wa  
yajiffu ḥīnā/

'Surely it consists of valleys of which the water is sometimes running and at other times dry'

- (3) /gayra ʔannanī ʔanḍuru ʔilā hādīhi al-risālati  
al-mutawāḍiʕati ʔasadda al-tawāḍiʕi.../

'But I look to this research which is the most modest'

(4) /ʔanta al-rajulu al-murtajā/

'You are the man who is hoped for'

As the above examples show, the underlined elements represent the main type of relative constructions which are chosen to specify the preceding head noun. Hence they can only be interpreted as post modifiers.

As has been pointed out above, relative clauses function in the structure of a nominal group regarding the correlation between the semantic options and the syntactic representation. Leech says,

"..., and an important factor in the study of meaning is being able to account for the relation of the semantic representation of an utterance to its representations at other levels, and particularly at the level of syntax." (1)

It will come as no surprise that the correlations between semantic and syntactic constituents are applied to CA. So we cannot change the semantic choice without affecting the syntactic feature of the associated word forms.

Compare:

a) /al-ʔummatu allatī hādā saʔnuhā.../

'The nation whose situation is this...'

b) /al-ʔummatu sāʔiratun ʔilā al-madaniyyah/

'The nation is going towards civilization'

where (a) accounts for the relation of the semantic representation of an utterance to the syntactic representation (i.e. noun as a head + relative clause as a modifier) in which the second constituent allatī hādā saʔnuhā

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(1) See Leech, G., Semantics, op.cit., 1974, p.178.

'whose situation is this', suggests the modification about the first constituent al-ʔummah, whereas (b) serves for the semantic options and syntactic feature of predication which has the constituent al-ʔummatu as subject and the constituent sāʔiratun ʔilā al-madaniyyah as a predicate.

In this way, it is sufficient to note that a syntactically acceptable structure is a string of words which satisfies the following points:

- (a) Each of the words involved is a semantic option.
- (b) The words occur in positions which are defined to be syntactically acceptable.
- (c) The word-forms should be associated with semantic and syntactic correlations.

So far, we are concerned with clarifying the term 'semantic' and 'syntactic' interrelationships as used in this chapter.

#### A) Semantic characteristics

As has been stated above, the principal function of relative clauses is that of post modifier, i.e., the occurrence of a relative pronoun is used to introduce a post modifying clause within a noun phrase, where the relative clause adds meaning to the antecedent (i.e. the head noun) by specifying its meaning more precisely. This may suggest that the term relative clause is used for different types of subclauses which are linked by a

pronoun referring back (i.e. relative pronoun) or which are expressed without a relative pronoun. Thus, for instance, compare:

(1a) /al-ʔaTfāl/

'the children'

(1b) /al-ʔaTfālu alladīna lam yablugū al-hulum/

'the children who are under age'

(1a) /al-malik/

'the king'

(1b) /al-maliku alladī yaʔdil/

'the king who is just'

(2a) /al-ruʔyā al-Sālihah/

'the good dream'

(2b) /al-ruʔya al-Sālihātu yarāhā al-rajulu al-muslimu  
ʔaw turā lah/

'the good dream which the muslim sees or that is  
seen by someone for him'

(2a) /marartu birajul/

'I passed by a man'

(2b) /marartu birajulin yabkī/

'I passed by a man, who was crying'

In (b) each example tells us something more precise than the other in (a) about the head noun since the relative clause in (b) restricts the meaning of the preceding noun by saying what kind of children and king, the source of the good dream and the status of the man the speaker is talking about. This type of relative clause is also considered as restrictive on the grounds

that the head noun has a generic reference and the relative clause represents a modifying structure on which the identity of the head is dependent. For instance, in the above examples, the head nouns al-ʔaTfālu, al-maliku, al-ruʔyā and rajulin have generic reference and the relative clauses, which are marked by the presence of the relative pronoun, (alladīna lam yablugū al-ḥulum and alladī yaʔdil), and by the absence of the relative pronoun, (yarāḥā al-rajulu al-muslim ʔaw turā lah and yabkī), are restrictive.

To recapitulate, one can semantically recognize that the role of the relative clause in post modification is "restrictive" in the sense of "that which modifies the generic reference indicated by the head", structurally this role may be realized in the clause elements: relative clause with or without relative pronoun. To put it differently, in restrictive modification, the linguistic identity of the head is dependent upon the modification of the relative clause, otherwise, the modification by the relative clause is inessential and thus the term non-restrictive is used. The contrast between these two meanings will be further illustrated below. That is to say, the different choices of using a relative clause are expressed below to distinguish between what is labelled as restrictive and non-restrictive and to show that these options are related to other features of the structures which contain relative clauses.

It is important to stress that the semantic property which a relative clause with head noun represents, though smaller than a sentence and not smaller than a noun phrase, is achieved by the whole construction. For this purpose, three terms are required to represent the semantic relationships to which the examples throughout this chapter are devised, e.g. hāda al-siru alladī Dahara fī al-ʔaSri al-ʔabbāsiy 'this poetry which appeared at Abbaside time' can be analysed into three constituents: the head noun hāda al-siru 'this poetry', the relational element alladī 'which', and the subclause Dahara fī al-ʔaSri al-ʔabbāsiy 'at the Abbaside time'. This is typically the way of analysing a nominal phrase involving a relative clause which is marked by the relative pronoun and combines the head word as a modifier, and that the whole NP function is dependent on the linguistic context: i.e. the NP here represents the subject of incomplete sentence. So in terms of features, this type of structure has the feature sequence: NP: noun as head + relative pronoun and conjunctive clause functioning as modifier, in contrast with the feature sequence: sentence: noun as subject - relative pronoun + verbal phrase e.g. hāda al-siru Dahara fī al-ʔaSri al-ʔabbāsiy 'This poetry appears in Abbaside times'; this difference between the structure of modification and predication is made by the presence of the relative pronoun within the former.

(i) Restrictive/non-restrictive types

All relative clauses can serve as restrictive or non-restrictive, since they permit the choice between restrictive and non-restrictive constructions. That is to say, all relative pronouns permit the choice between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses, particularly the clauses of zero pronoun. Consider:

1a) /al-rajulu alladī ?akala al-ḥasadu qalbah/

'the man whose heart is full of envy'

1b) /fatan yamtali?u ṣidquhu bial-?alfāḍi ḥīna yatakallam/

'Surely he is a boy whose mouth is partly full with words when he speaks'

As these two examples illustrate, the restrictive construction contains mutual narrowing of reference between the head noun and the relative clause.

It is also possible that relative clauses can be used non-restrictively. The clearest cases of non-restrictive function are represented by relative clauses which modify a proper noun since the proper noun is assumed to already have a unique reference. However, non-restrictive relative clauses, generally speaking, are potentially marked by punctuation or intonation. Consider:

2a) /wa ?ismaʿīlu wālidu ʿarabi al-ḥijāzi, alladīna minhum rasūlu allāhi, fa al-miṣriyyuna ?axwāluhu Sallā allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam/

'And Ismāʿel is the father of the Arab of whom the messenger of Allah is one, thus the Egyptians are considered as uncles to the prophet peace be upon him'



- 2b) /ʔabdu al-ḥamīdi istaxraja ʔamtilata al-kitābati  
-allatī rasamahā-mina al-lisāni al-fārisiy/

'Abd al-hamid took out the literary examples,  
 which he described, from the Persian language'

- 2c) /hattā ʔida jāʔa ʔabdu al-ḥamīdi alladī ʔurifa  
baʔdu biʔabdi al-ḥamīdi al-kātib/

'Until Abd al-hamid came, who is later known as  
 Abd al-hamid the writer'

In this way, the underlined elements above, though they modify the head noun involved, do not restrict them, since the head noun is independently identifiable.

It follows from the above distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive that the head noun can be specified as a member of a class which is identified through the modification of a given relative clause that has been supplied (restrictive), as in (1) above and the head noun can be viewed as a member of a class that has been independently specified. Hence the relative clauses supplied are additional information and are not essential for identifying the head noun. This type of relative clause is called non-restrictive, as in (2) and is marked by the head class or punctuation. Again, as we have already mentioned the restrictive is recognised by its function of specifying the head noun and its position as part of the noun phrase structure. This is similar to the structure of the noun phrase in spoken Egyptian Arabic. To quote,

"one of the phrase structure rules allows for the generation of S as part of the noun phrase: NP → N(S)," (1)

while the non-restrictive is distinguished by tone unit boundary in speech, or dashes in writing, separating the relative clause from the head noun, though there is no great consistency in the spoken and written languages in these respects and by giving additional information about the head.

It is important to stress that the above illustrations are only concerned with semantic features of relative clauses without giving attention to the gender and number involved. This is because the identity of gender and number features of relative clauses with the head noun are a syntactic matter while the selectional restrictions and non-restrictions between the head noun and relative clauses are a semantic matter.

Bearing all that in mind, such relative clauses as in /al-rajulu alladī kāna fī ?awwalī ?amrihi hammārā/ 'the man who was at the beginning of his life a donkey driver', and /wa al-?aTwāru allati taqallabat fihā/ 'and the states which it developed through' are restrictive, i.e. the underlined elements have a restrictive relation, though they show various realizations with regard to gender and number. These satisfy the constraints on restrictive feature (i.e. generic head + relative clause + restrictive), whereas relative clauses like /mina al-ʿulamāʾi hādā

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(1) See Wise, H., A Transformational Grammar of Spoken Arabic, Chapter VII, 1975, p.87.

al-rajulu alladī kāna fī ?awwali ?amrihi hammārā/ 'This man is one of the scholars, who was at first a donkey driver', and /kānat nihāyatu hādīhi al-?aTwāri allatī taqallabat fihā Tawru al-nuDūji wa al-kamāl/ 'The end of these states, which it was turned over, was the time of mature and perfection' are non-restrictive without regard to the gender and number variations, since the specification of the head noun is recoverable at the predicative construction (i.e. mina al-ʿulamāʾi and Tawru al-nuDūji wa al-kamāl respectively). Hence the underlined elements are attached to the preceding head noun in order to supply further information, and they have no restrictive value.

Again, in the restrictive type the head is identifiable at the relative clause, while in the non-restrictive the identity of the head is independent of the relative clause since the head in question - being treated as unique - will not admit restriction, but only information for additional interest. For more illustrations, compare:

(1) Restrictive : relative clauses

(a) fa al-manāDiru allati talūhu lahum, wa al-maDāhiru allati tuhītu bihim, ?umūrun fiTriyyah/

'And the sights which appear to them, and the aspects which surround them, are natural things'

(b) /kamataali al-ḥimāri yahmilu ?asfārā/

'like the ass which carries books'

(2) Non-restrictive : relative clauses

(a) /hāʔulāʔi al-Tullābu-kamā tarā - fuqarāʔ/

'These students, as you see, are poor'

(b) /wa hādihi al-dāru al-ʔuxrā allatī ʔālafuhā wa  
ʔuktīru mina al-taraddudi ʔalayhā hiya dāru waraqata  
ibni nawfal/

'And this second house, which I am familiar with  
and which I go to frequently is Warqata ibn Nawfal's  
house'

(c) /Sayyidun - waqāhu allahu - salīm/

'Sayyid, whom God protected, is safe'

What is interesting in this connection is that non-restrictive relative clauses, which are marked off by commas or dashes in written CA and potentially distinguishable by intonation in spoken language, are like parenthetically inserted independent clauses or phrases. Compare the following three sentences where (a) includes two non-restrictive clauses, (b) includes a parenthetical clause and (c) includes a parenthetical phrase.

a) /ixtalafa al-mubarridu wa taʔlabun bihaDrati  
al-ʔamīri muḥammadin... - alladī kāna yunfigu  
muʔDama waqtihi fī al-buhūti al-ʔilmiyyati, wa  
kāna yahwā al-munāDarāti... - fī qawli imruʔi  
al-qays.../

'Al-Mubarrid and Th'lab differ in the presence of  
the Prince Mohammad, who was spending most of his  
time and who was fond of the literary competitions,  
about Imru' al-Qais's saying...'

- b) /fakāna ʔabū bakrin - raDiya allāhu ʔanhu - yadʔū  
hakīman ʔilā al-ʔaTāʔi fayaʔbā ʔan yaqbalahu minh/  
'Thereafter, Abu bakr (may God be pleased with him)  
asked as usual Hakim to take from the present but  
he refused as he promised.'
- c) /wa qad ʔafāDa al-ʔālimu al-ʔjalīlu - kaʔādatihi -  
hawla al-ʔāyati ʔahādīta katīratan, wa ʔafkaran  
muxtalifah/  
'and the venerable scholar has spoken in detail  
(as he used to do) about this verse, giving many  
reports and different thoughts'

In this way, although these structures represent three types of constructions, they are similar in feature and function.

After this brief investigation of the structural characteristics of non-restrictive relative clauses and parenthetical clauses and phrases, and the applicability of non-restrictive systems to them, it is proposed here to discuss further the structural characteristics of the relative clauses of non-restrictive function in contrast with their corresponding clauses of coordination. In other words, it was pointed out earlier that the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive functions lies in the fact that restrictive relative clauses tell us more precisely than non-restrictive ones about the specific reference of the head noun, since its choice is made to narrow down the general meaning of the head concerned. Therefore, the non-

restrictive only adds information which is given for purposes of prominence. In this way, the non-restrictive relative clause is in some sense similar to that of coordinate and circumstantial clauses. Next, an attempt will be made at classifying these non-restrictive clauses into three types; each will be comparable with the other.

(i) Non-restrictive relative clauses equal to coordinate clauses.

- a) /balaga bihā al-dirwata allatī istahaqqa bihā ?an yakūna sayxa al-kuttāb/

'He reached with his writing the peak at which he deserved to be called "Sheik of the Writers"'

- b) /balag bihā al-dirwata wa istahaqqa ?an yakūna sayxa al-kuttāb/

'He rose with his writing to the peak and he deserved with it to be the sheikh of the writers'

- a) /wa min dālika "al-mirbāzu" wa huwa rubzu al-ganīmati alladī kāna ya?xuduhu al-ra?īsu fī al-jāhiliyyah/

'and among these words is the word "mirbā' /quarter/ i.e. it is the quarter of the loot, which the man takes in the pre-Islamic time'

- b) /wa min dālika "al-mirbāzu" wa huwa rubzu al-ganīmati wa kāna ya?xuduhu al-ra?īsu fī al-jāhiliyyah/

'and the Merbā' (quarter) is one of these words, it is the quarter of the loot, which the man used to take in pre-Islamic times'

(ii) Non-restrictive clauses equal to circumstantial clauses:

- a) /sāhadtū al-Tāliba al-ḥarīSa alladī yusriʿu ʾilā al-muḥāḍarah/  
'I saw the eager student who rushed to the lecture'
- b) /sāhadtū al-Tāliba al-ḥarīSa yusriʿu ʾila al-muḥāḍarah/  
'I saw the eager student running to the lecture'
- a) /lā ʾasrabu al-māʾa alladī huwa gayru naqiyy/  
'I never drink the water which is not clean'
- b) /lā ʾasrabu al-māʾa wa huwa gayru naqiyy/  
'I never drink the water when it is not clean'

In this way, such clauses which are called by the Arab grammarians circumstantial: <sup>(1)</sup>

- a) /dālika al-kitābu lā rayba fīhi.../  
'THIS DIVINE WRIT - let there be no doubt about it...', <sup>(2)</sup>
- b) /huwa al-haqqu lā ṣakka fīh/  
'It's the right, no doubt of that' and
- c) /ʾanta al-Sādiqū tuḥibbu al-ḥaqq/  
'You are the truthful man who likes the rightness'

are in fact non-restrictive relative clauses associated with a circumstantial feature, since they imply a relative pronoun, or rather they have zero pronoun.

#### Semantic subtypes of relative clauses

Taking the description a bit further, relative clauses may be further seen as having semantic sub-functions;

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(1) See Ḥasan, op.cit., vol. 2, p.396 and below.

(2) See Asad, op.cit., verse 2, p.3.

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each is contextually assigned. That is to say, although relative clauses function descriptively as restrictive or non-restrictive they may refer to appellative or causative or explicit function in relation to the preceding structure; and the context will refer to the function involved. So, relative clauses are classifiable on the basis of their contextual function into three sub-types.

(i) Appellative: relative clauses e.g.

- a) qad ?aflaha al-mu?minūna alladīna hum fī Salātihim  
xāsiḏūna wa alladīna hum Ḥan allagwi muḏriḏūna  
wa alladīna hum lil-Zakāti fāḏilūna wa alladīna hum  
lifurūjihim ḥāfiḏūn/

'TRULY, to a happy state shall attain the believers:  
those who humble themselves in their prayer, and  
who turn away from all that is frivolous, and who  
are intent on inner purity; and who are mindful of  
their chastity.' (1)

- b) /iqra? bismi rabbika alladī xalaqa xalaqa al-?insāna  
min Ḥalaq/

'READ in the name of thy Sustainer, who has created -  
created man out of a germ-cell.' (2)

(ii) Causative: relative clauses

- a) /lā yaSlāhā ?illā al-?asqā alladī kaddaba wa tawallā/  
the  
'(the fire) which none shall have to endure but the most  
hopeless wretch who gives the lie to the truth and  
turns away (from it)' (3)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.519, verses 1-5.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.963, verses 1-2;

(3) Asad, ibid., p.957, verses 15-16.



- b) /liya?xudū Ṣan ?ahlihā alladīna lam tafsud  
malakatuhum/

'To take the language from those people whose  
instinctive knowledge about the language has not  
spoiled' (because their talent has not spoiled)

(iii) Explicit: relative clause

- a) /al-qur?ānu huwa al-kitābu alladī ?anzalahu allāhu  
taṢālā Ṣalā nabiyyihi Ṣalayhi al-salām/

'The Holy Qurān is the book which Allāh the Supreme  
has sent down to his prophet peace be upon him'

- b) /ixtalaqathā al-ṢaṢabiyyatu allatī balagat ṣa?wan  
ṢaḌīman bayna al-baṢriyyīna wa al-kūfiyyīna yawma?id/

'The fanatic rivalry between the Basrans and the  
Kūfans, which had reached a high point at that time,  
created this case'

Examining the above illustrations, we notice that  
the class of clauses referred to above as sub-types show  
the following characteristics:

- (1) They are relative clauses indicating further  
linguistic functions; assigned by the context,  
i.e. appellation, causation and explicitness.
- (2) These linguistic functions are considered in  
relation to the sentential antecedent.
- (3) With appellative the relative clause is more specific  
than the antecedent (head noun).
- (4) With causative the relative clause involves its  
causative correlate in relation to the antecedent  
(see below).

(5) With explicit the relative clause is a comment expressing the writer's attitude to the antecedent, or his manner of asserting it. Rather the relative clause appears as a consequence or result of the event in the antecedent.

(ii) The restrictive/non-restrictive distinction

On the basis of what we have demonstrated above, the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive can be drawn by the grammatical status and semantic choices of the sequential elements of the structure involved. That is to say, the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in CA is drawn firstly in the light of the grammatical and semantic status of the head noun involved; if the head noun is definite and specific the relative clause will be non-restrictive, whereas the relative clause with definite and non-specific head is restrictive. Secondly, it is based on the necessity for a further determination (required by the head noun), which is achieved by a relative clause. And thus restrictive function is directly applicable. By adding a relative clause which does not indicate a limitation on the reference of the relativized head noun, the non-restrictive function is applied.

Again, the surface structures of both types represent choices which are directly relatable to the meaning of sequential elements; and furthermore the semantic relationship (i.e. restrictive or non-restrictive) is

structurally marked. This is to say that, although the relative clauses may have the same system in the written form, nevertheless the type of modificatory restrictive clauses is kept distinct from non-restrictive ones by the following factors:

- 1a) Its head is a member of a class which can only be identified linguistically through the restrictive modification that is introduced by a relative clause, i.e. the head noun's identity is dependent on the relative clause.
- 1b) Its semantic function is a restrictive modifier in a nominal phrase.
- 1c) Its syntactic class is that of a non-elliptical modifier since it modifies a generic head noun.

In contrast the non-restrictive type is characterised by the following factors:

- 2a) The head noun is identified by nature (i.e. a proper noun) or specific reference, and can be seen as unique or as a member of a class which has been identified previously. Hence the head's identity is independent of the relative clause involved.
- 2b) It is potentially indicated in speech by separate tone and in writing by punctuation marks as illustrated above.
- 2c) Its semantic function is non-restrictive.
- 2d) Its syntactic class is that of an ~~omissible~~ (1)

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(1) Note that non-restrictive function of the relative clauses in the Holy Quran may be marked by intonation and not by deletion since they are divine structures.

modifier since it modifies a specific head noun.

- 2e) It carries further information relevant to the head noun i.e. the modifier is subordinated for this purpose.

To illustrate this contrast, we give the following two sets:

Set I

- a) /saʔalanī ʔan mawṭinī alladī nazaḥtu minh/  
'He asked me about my home which I have emigrated from'
- b) /...liqāʔidi al-ʔibili allatī ʔalayhā nisāʔuh/  
'...to the leader of the camels which his wives were riding'
- c) /ʔarinā al-sayṭānayni alladayni ʔadallānā/  
'Show us the two devils who led us astray'
- d) /yūsī kullu jīlin minhā ʔilā al-jīli alladī yalīhi  
bial-muḍiyyi fī al-timāsi al-ḥaqqi wa al-baḥṭi  
ʔan al-hudā/  
'Every generation gave an advice to the other which follows it in requesting the right and searching for guidance'

Set II

- a) /wa mā Diqtu biṣayʔin qaṭṭu kamā Diqtu bimakāni  
ʔammī al-walīdi ibni al-muḡirati alladī kāna yasluqunī  
bi lisānihi ʔānifan/  
'I never got fed up of anything as I did of the attitude of my uncle al-walid ibn al-mugira, who was hurting me with his tongue'

- b) /tanāwala maṣānīyahum allatī yataṣāwarūnahā  
baynahum fataṣarrafa fīhā wa haddabahā/

'It (the Holy Quran) handled the pre-Islamic points of the literary life, which the Arabs dealt with among themselves, so that it modifies these points and refined them'

- c) /wa ʔanna nawṣa ḥayātihim alladī kānū yahyawna  
kāna sayusallimuhum ʔilā al-fanāʔi wa al-halāk/

'and their kind of life, which they were living, would definitely lead them into ruin and downfall'.

- d) /wa yastaxiffu qulūbanā liḥubbi ḥādīhi al-ḥayāti  
al-rūmiyyati allatī yaḥmilūna ʔilaynā ʔaysarahā wa  
ʔahwanahā/

'and he is intending to affect our hearts by this Byzantine life, of which the Byzantines transmitted to us only the smallest example'

Sentences under Set I contain the underlined relative clauses which function as restrictive modifiers limiting the reference of the head noun since both the head and the modifier are (+ def.), the former has (- spec.) and the latter is (+ spec.). Definiteness of the head noun is basically realized by al-, or a suffixed pronoun or annexation. Definiteness of the relative clause is given by the relative pronoun which is definite by nature, its specification is made by referring to determinable reference. Sentences under (2) include non-restrictive clauses, since they do not indicate determination on the possible reference of the head noun. Both the head and the

relative are (+ def. + spec.); hence the function of the relative is non-restrictive. Thus: we may portray the two types above as follows:

	Head noun	Relative	Clause
(1)	+ def. - spec.	+ def. + spec.	R
(2)	+ def. + spec.	+ def. + spec.	NR

The structural reference of the head noun thus has the semantic effect of making the relative clause in restrictive or non-restrictive modifier.

Now that we have illustrated relative clauses as restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers with a definite head noun, we proceed to examine the relative clauses, where the relative pronoun is zero, with an indefinite head. A non-restrictive function is applied by relative clauses, since the head noun is contextually specified at some stage in the structure. Consider:

- a) /ʔinna ʔawwala baytin wuDiʕa lil-nāsi lallaḍī bibakkah/  
'The first house (temple), which was founded for mankind, was that in Bekka (Mecca)'
- b) /yā zakriyyā ʔinnā nubassiruka bigulāmin ismuhu yaḥyā lam najʕal lahu min qablu samiyyā/  
'(Thereupon the angels called out unto him) "O Zachariah! we bring thee the glad tidings of (the birth of) a son whose name shall be John (And God says,) 'Never have we given this name to anyone before him' (1)
- c) /ḥadā rajulun yahdīnī al-sabīl/  
'This is a man who guides me on my way'

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.458, verse 7.

The underlined structures are ~~are~~ relative clauses of non-restrictive function. They are marked by being a modifier to a head noun marked (-def. + specific); the relative clause is thus (-def.(relative pronoun) + specific). The relative clauses here are non-restrictive modifiers and they are brought for qualification rather than information (i.e. they are related to the head noun as qualificative).

Furthermore, generally speaking, relative clauses of non-restrictive function, which occur after the main clause, represent a sentence sequence which is to some extent separable from the main clause. This separability is a characteristic feature of the non-restrictive.

Now, we shall examine examples of relative clauses with the features (-def. + specific) preceded by a head with the features (-def. - specific). The function of the relative clause thus would be strictly restrictive.

Examples:

- a) /... wa ʔamwālun iqṭaraftumūhā wa tijāratum taxsawna kasādaha wa masākinu tarḌawnahā .../

'and the worldly goods which you have acquired,  
and the commerce whereof you fear decline, and the dwellings in which you take pleasure' (1)

- b) /... ḥarramnā ʔalayhim Tayyibātin ʔuḥillat lahum.../

'We deny unto them certain of the good things of life which (aforetime) has been allowed to them' (2)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.260, verse 24.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.135, verse 160.

c) /wa rusulan gaḏ qaSaSnāhum Ṭalayka min qablu  
wa rusulan lam naḡSuShum Ṭalayka.../

'and as (we inspired other) apostles whom we have mentioned to thee are this, as well as apostles whom we have not mentioned to thee ...' (1)

The underlined relative clauses function as restrictive modifiers since the head which they modify has a generic reference, and the relative clauses present to add restriction upon it, though each represents further quality attributed to the head noun involved.

In delimiting the discussion so far, although the system given in the course of this section seems to be an adequate demarcating line between restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers, the context plays an important role to assign the relationship between a relative clause and head noun on the one hand, and the reference of the head noun involved on the other.

Continuing in the description of the nominal phrases involving a relative clause, it is of our immediate concern to study a set of constructions representing specific and non-specific features.

#### (iii) Specific/non-specific

We have touched upon both terms in the previous section for correlative reasons. Here we proceed to deal with them separately in more detail. As we may touch

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(1) Asad, ibid., p,136, verse 164.



upon R and NR for contrastive reasons between specific and non-specific types. However, specific is used here to refer to a nominal group containing the feature (+ spec.) with the feature (+ def.). Compare the following two sets of examples:

Set I

- a) /wa tamūda alladīna jābū al-Saxra bial-wād/  
'and with (the tribe of) Thamūd, who hollowed out rocks in the valley?' (1)
- b) /wa ʔibrahīma alladī waffā/  
'and of Abraham, who to his trust was true' (2)
- c) /wa ʔamma raddu al-muqawqisi alladī kāna ʔadīman lil-qibTi, dūna ʔan yakūna minhum faqad kāna ʔajmala min raddi hiraql/  
'As to Muqawqis's reply, who was the head of the Copts but not one of them, it was more polite than Hercules's reply'
- d) /ʔinna matala ʔisā ʔinda allāhi kamatali ʔādama xalaqahu min turābin tumma qāla lahu kun fayakūn/  
'Verily, in the sight of God, the nature of Jesus is as the nature of Adam, whom He created out of dust and then said unto him, "Be" - and he is' (3)

The above examples show that the nominal group, where the relative clause is non-restrictive preceded by a proper noun, can be identified by the features

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.950, verse 9.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.816, verse 37.  
(3) Asad, ibid., p.76, verse 59.

(+ def. + spec) at the head and the modifier as in (a-c), or (+ def. + spec.) at the head and (-def. + spec.) at the modifier as in (d), and moreover, in each NP the relative clause is coreferential with the preceding head noun. As we pointed out earlier, the definition and specification is recognized by the very nature of the element, (such as a proper noun or relative pronoun), or by the use of one of the deictic means (i.e. the article al-, demonstratives and suffixed pronouns), or by annexation, in which they have specific features. Thus:  
Set II

- a) /wa lakinna al-tabita alladī lā yunkaru ?annahu  
 Ṣalayhi al-Salātu wa al-salāmu, ?aqarra al-qāri?īna  
 bilahajātihim/  
 'But the fact, which cannot be denied, that the  
 prophet (May blessings and peace be upon him)  
 approved the reciters of the Qur'an in their dialects'
- b) /wa hādīhi al-suṣūbiyyatu allati balagat ?aṣuddahā  
 ?iḍ dāka tantaqisu al-Ṣaraba wa taguDDu min  
 ?aqdārihim/  
 'and this movement against the privileged position  
 of the Arabs, which reached its climax at that time,  
 disparages the Arabs and lower their values'
- c) /... hīna taDīqu bibī?atika allatī taḥyā fīhā wa  
 taṣqā bihā/  
 '...when you are fed up with your surroundings,  
 in which you live and which you are unhappy with'

d) /wa yanDuru al-ʔabu ʔilā Sabiyyihi al-wahīdi  
 alladī jāʔahu hīna tawallā ʔanhu al-sabābu, wa  
 hīna ʔaqbalat ʔalayhi al-sayxūxatu, wa hīna istayʔasa  
 mina al-waladi, yanDuru ʔilā ibnihi hādā ʔasifan  
 mahzūnā/

'and the father looks at his only boy, who came  
 when youth left him, when old age came upon him  
 and when he gave up all hope of having a boy, he  
 looks at his son in a grieved state'

Sets (I) and (II) above have three things in common:

(a) the head noun is definite and specific with which the  
 relative clause is made non-restrictive. (b) The  
 head noun is characterised through the relative clause  
 involved, as Strang says:

"... and non-restrictive, i.e., characterizing  
 the antecedent without limiting it." (1)

(c) The relative clause functions as a non-restrictive  
 modifier.

Set (II) is linguistically marked off by the  
 following distinctive characteristics:

- (1) The head as realized is a common noun in contrast  
 with the head in (1) which is a proper noun.
- (2) The specificity of the head rests on being known  
 to the writer and the reader, or by the given  
 context; hence the term specific here represents  
 an acquired characteristic in contrast with (1)

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(1) See Strang, B.M.H., Modern English Structure, 1968,  
 p.121.

where the head is specific by nature since it is a proper noun.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that the 'feature' of specificity which is present with the head noun always entails, according to our description, a non-restrictive function on the combined relative clause whatever its grammatical status. Compare:

- a) /nazala al-maTaru alladī maSdaru miyāhi al-ʔanhār/  
'The rain came down, which is the source of the rivers'
- b) /istadda al-ʔiqbālu ʔalā al-taʔlīmi alladī kafīlun  
biʔinhāDi al-fardi wa al-ʔummah/  
'The tendency towards education is increasing.  
And this is the guarantor of advancement for the  
individual and the nation'

The underlined relative clauses are not grammatically similar as they seem to be. This is because each one has uniformly different case status which is dictated by the head noun.

However, although they are grammatically different they are syntactically and semantically equivalent, i.e. they are non-restrictive modifiers.

Here also it is worth considering some cases where the head (+def. + spec.) occurs in a genitive construction with which the non-restrictive function of the relative clause can be applied to either the first element or the second. Thus the sentences:



- b) /wa ʔannahu ʔaʕaddu irtibaTan bihayāti al-ḥaḍārati  
allati turhifu al-ḥissa wa turaqqiqu al-wigḍān/  
 'and surely it is extremely correlated to the life  
 of civilization, which makes the feeling sharp and makes  
 delicate the intuition'

To disambiguate these structural relations, the relative clause should be regarded as a modifier to the whole phrase. In this manner, the structures will be readily interpreted as structures of delimited head noun, and the ambiguity of modifying both of the two elements separately will be excluded.

However, this kind of ambiguity does not take place when the two elements in the genitive construct have different gender. The relative pronoun thus will match the head noun which it modifies, and the gender of the relative pronoun will reflect the choice of the head. So the congruity of the head noun and the relative pronoun is a decisive factor in the interpretation, in that the form of the relative pronoun matches the head in gender and number.

As can be seen in the examples below, gender and number concord of a relative clause is shown by the form of the relative pronoun in question, in line with the gender and number form of the head. Consider:

- a) /...intaSara fihi limaSlahati al-saʕbi allati  
yumattiluhā ʔānaḍāka.../

'He stood up for the interest of the people, which  
 was represented at that time by...'

- b) /wa ?innamā ?uhāwīlu ?an ?alumma ?ilmāmatan  
mutawāDiṣatan bi?abrazi al-maḍāhiri allatī tahtifu  
birā?idihā,.../  
'I am only trying to give a modest outline of the  
most distinctive aspects, which call for exploration'
- a) /..., wa ḥālātī al-qitālī wa al-ḥiṣārī allatī  
lam yakūnū qad ṣarafūhā.../  
'and the instruments of war and blockage, which they  
have not been aware of'
- b) /..., wa iḥṭaḍanathā al-sīṣatu wa gayruhum min  
?aṣḥābi al-maḍāhibī allatī nas?at fī al-?islām,.../  
'and the Shī'a and other ideologies embraced it,  
which grew up within Islam'
- a) /...; fa ixtilāṭu al-ṣarabī wa tadwīnu al-lugati  
alladāni dafaṣa ?ilayhimā al-qur?ānu,.../  
'and the mixing of the Arab people with other  
nationalities and the writing down of the language,  
which the Holy Quran urges to both of them'
- b) /sawā?un ṣindaka liqā?u al-?atrābi wa liqā?u  
al-suyūxi alladīna yanbagī ?an talqāhum bi wajhin  
gayri ḥādā al-wajhi wa ḥadīṭin gayri ḥādā al-ḥadīṭ/  
'It is the same to you, the meeting of peers and  
the meeting of sheikhs, who should be met by you  
with another face than this and other talk than this'

The underlined elements represent NPs involving  
relative pronouns which refer formally to the identical  
head noun. By these corresponding features, the relative  
clauses will be functionally confined to a head noun to

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which the relative clause is selected by the writer in surface structure, and again the possibility of referring to another head will be eliminated.

At the abstract level these relative clauses seem to be structures which are contextually related to the preceding head, i.e. looking deeply into the choice and the form of these relative clauses which are related to one head element <sup>rather</sup> / than another, one may suggest that these relative clauses are designed in this way by the writer for giving information and focusing on one element rather than another. This suggestion is justified by the potentiality of replacing these relative clauses by others which will be formed according to the new head noun and the information meant to be given.

To summarize the main characteristics of the illustrations given so far:

- (1) The head noun and the relative pronoun are marked off by (+def. + spec.).
- (2) The antecedent in which the head occurs is composed of two items.
- (3) The relative pronouns take their form in concord with the head noun involved, and are present in order to link the clauses to the head; together (the pronoun and the clause) represent the modifier.
- (4) The use of the relative pronoun puts focus on the head noun as far as reflexivity is concerned.



As we pointed out earlier, not only can clauses with the relative pronoun be (+ spec.) in CA (see above), but also clauses without the relative pronoun, i.e. in the unmarked relative clauses which modify the combined head noun non-restrictively, both the head noun and the relative clause are marked by the features (-def. + spec.).

This may be clarified by the following examples:

- a) /liʔannahu ʔazhariyyun qad qaraʔa al-ʔilma.../  
'because he is an Azhar student who has studied science'
- b) /wa taḍkuru ʔannahā ʔarafat imraʔatahu fatātan hawjāʔa jilfatan, tatakallafu ziyya ʔahli al-mudun/  
'and she mentioned that she knew his wife as a hasty and rude girl, who tried to be like the people of the cities'
- c) /wa fī rijlayhi hiḍāʔun yujaddu marratan fī al-sanah/  
'and he has a shoe, which is repaired once a year'

In these examples the head and the relative clause are characterised by referring to (-def. + spec.). They imply reading which, in the relevant context of time and place, can be interpreted as "only one student who learned", "one girl who tried to be like city people" and "one pair of shoes which is repaired once a year", as in (a), (b) and (c) respectively.

Non-specific covers 'generic nominal groups' and 'indefinite unrealized nominal groups' whether they are countable or uncountable (i.e. unit nouns or mass nouns).

Having said that, the basic difference between the specific and non-specific types is that the former has definite reference to an individual while the latter has an indefinite reference. Thus the head noun here has the features (+al - spec.) or (-al - spec.), and this non-specific reference is not concerned with individuals, only with generic and indefinite references. Consider the illustrations given below.

- a) /...., ?anna lihā<sub>di</sub>hi al-diyānāti allati yadīnu al-nāsu bihā fī ?aqTāri al-?arDi gāyatan tantahī ?ilayhā/  
'Surely these religions which people believe in all over the world have an aim which these religions result in'
- b) /yadhābu al-nāsu fī ?ikbārihi wa ?ijlālihi ?ilā haddin yusbihi al-taqdīsa: kānū yatabarrakūna bihi.../  
'People go far in exalting and dignifying him to a limit which resembles worship: so that they can be blessed by him...'
- a) /wa yaDTarruhu ?ilā al-majlisi alladī ?arādahu ʕalā ?an yajlisa fihi.../  
'And he forces him to the place which he wanted him to sit down in'
- b) /... ?ilā man takilunī? ?ilā baʕīdin yatajahhamunī, ?aw ?ilā ʕaduwwin mallaktahu ?amrī?.../  
'to whom have you entrusted me on?; to that one who looks angrily at me, or to an enemy whom you give power over me?'

As can be seen from the illustrations above, the feature 'non-specific' is associated with the head noun (be it with or without al-), or rather the term non-specific presupposes the head function. The relative clause functions thus as a restrictive modifier.

So in terms of features, the nominal phrases dealt with above have the feature sequence: (+def. -spec. H) and (+relative pronoun M). A correlate of this fact is that the relative clause which is governed by the head will be 'identificatory' unless there is contextual information elsewhere in the discourse where the head is restricted; so that the relative clause involved serves as a non-restrictive modifier. Contrast, for instance, the examples given below where in (a) the structural element functioning as 'head' is restricted by the following relative clause, hence the functions restrictive and identificatory are implied; whereas in (b) it is restricted by a structure other than the following relative clause, and, as a result, the functions: non-restrictive and additional information are indicated.

- a) /wā inʕaTafa ʔilā al-zāwiyati allatī fihā al-qurmah/  
 'and he turned to the corner in which the log was'  
 b) /fa<sup>ʔ</sup>inna al-tanāquDa alladī yaDharu baynahumā laysa  
ʔillā Sūriyyan fī haqīqati al-ʔamr/  
 'but surely the contradiction, which appears,  
 between them is in fact superficial'

So far, these are the main linguistic features of this structural type where the head noun is generic and

the clause appears in relative form. The identification of the generic head noun through the relative clause that has been presented in surface structure pinpoints the nature of the clauses which appear to narrow down the range of the reference in 'non-specific head'.

Compare:

- a) /wa lastu ?adrī ?ilā ?ayna tantahī binā hādihi  
al-?awDāΣ/  
 'I do not know where these circumstances will get us to'
- b) /wa lastu ?adrī ?ilā ?ayna tantahī binā hādihi  
al-?awDāΣu allatī tafriDuhā quraysun Σalā Σuqūlina...! /  
 'I do not know where these circumstances which Quraish imposes on our mind will get us to!'
- a) /wa ?innamā kāna yursilu naDarahu fī al-Sahrā?i  
 yarjū ?an tarfaΣa lahu al-Σīr/  
 'and he was only casting his eyes across the desert, hoping that the camels would come quickly to him'
- b) /wa ?innamā kāna yursilu naDarahu fī al-Sahrā?i  
 yarjū ?an tarfaΣa lahu al-Σīru allatī tahmilu ?ilayhi suΣdā wa ibnahā zaydā/  
 'and he was only casting his eyes across the desert, hoping that the camels which carried Su'da and her son Zayd would come quickly to him'

In these examples, in (a) the underlined elements (al-?awDāΣu and al-Σīr), represent the exclusive, unrestricted type of range, whereas those in (b), (the same elements), represent the inclusive, restricted type of range.

The difference between those in (a) and those in (b) is thus describable by reference to the exclusive/inclusive system. That is to say, the element which is present without a relative clause represents the 'exclusive', and that present with the relative clause represents the 'inclusive' since the head noun is being narrowed down by the clause involved to a specific subclass. That is to say, although (a) and (b) contain the same generic noun, in (b) the generic head does not refer to the entire class by virtue of the relative clause which narrows it down, and in (a) the generic noun refers to the whole class existing in time and place.

The point to be made here is that the semantic component which is represented in surface structure by a relative clause functions inherently to shrink the referential range of the generic head. Thus, a subset is characterized as definite, plural and head of the relative clause. Therefore, the genericness given by the head noun in (b) above has not as its range of reference may suggest the entire class but the narrower domain of it as specified by the following relative clause.

This may be clarified by Chafe's statement:

"...; it is the diminished concept girls who are beautiful which is given the generic and plural inflections." (1)

To sum up the features of the structure in which the relativized head noun is generic and the relative clause

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(1) See Chafe, W.L., Meaning and the Structure of Language, 1970, p.291.

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occurs to subclassify it we systemize them as follows:  
(head noun - unique + plural + generic) + (partitive  
relative clause + specific identifier).

(iv) Attributive/Non-attributive

Under this heading, relative clauses fall syntactically into two types:

- (1) qualificative; those which are a clausal unit in an NP.
- (2) predicative; those which are a sentential unit in a sentence.

Syntactically therefore, relative clauses function as qualificative when they occur dependently within an NP which has a noun as head and a relative clause as modifier. The sequence of items is a distinctive feature of this type since the sequence restrictions mark off the qualificative type from the predicative. So the sequence of noun and relative clause is readily identified as an NP in which the noun is the qualified item and the relative clause is the qualifier (see Section B below). Whereas relative clauses, which function as predicative, are distinctively marked by the occurrence of a pronoun of separation between the subject and the relative clause, so that they are reversible.

So in semantic terms, the qualificative and predicative functions are interpretable as attributive and equative respectively.

The following types of structures will serve to illustrate the distinctive features of these two semantic functions:

- a) /ʔuḍtu al-sayxa alladī huwa marīD/  
'I have visited the old man who is sick'
- b) /al-zaʔīmu huwa alladī tarfaʔuhu ʔaʔmaluh/  
'The leader is the one whose acts raise him up'
- a) /ʔinna waladayhi alladayni gatalāhu.../  
'surely his two sons, who had murdered him...'
- b) /ʔinna waladayhi humā alladāni gatalāh/  
'Surely, his two sons are the ones who murdered him'

Of these pairs of examples, the ones in (a), with the relative clause as qualificative, represent the attributive relation. These in (b), with the relative clause introduced by a pronoun of separation as predicative, represent the equative relation. In other words, the above examples in (a) and (b) show different types of structure which represent attributive and equative relations respectively. Again, the distinction between these two types of relations is basically made by form, i.e. the structure of (a) is clearly characterized by the absence of a pronoun of separation in contrast with (b). As a consequence, the relative clause in (a) may have further reference by implication in the sense that the head to which it is attributed is the only attribuant, while in (b) the pronoun of separation makes it clear that the subject and the relative clause for comparative are "separated" (i.e. by the pronoun of separation) in

order to assist in the comparison of the actual subject with any other potential subjects which do not in fact occur in the sentence.

The point to be stressed in this respect is that sentences like those above (in b) were described under Modification in NPs within Relational Sentences (Chapter II).

(v) Causative relations

As was illustrated briefly above, relative clauses with a head noun may include certain semantic functions other than the fundamental values outlined above (pp.147 - 150). In other words, the features restrictive/non-restrictive, specific/non-specific and attributive/non-attributive are not the only relations that can be drawn between the relative clause and the antecedent head. Rather the semantic features may be extended to involve causal relations since the relation implied between the elements involved is intuitively causative. Under the term causative, three kinds of causations may be observed in CA relative clauses preceded by a head noun. These are: Reason, Result and Purpose. Formally, these are not distinguished by means of causation particles such as li?anna 'because', bisababi 'because of' al-sababu 'the reason', kay, likay 'in order to' and li?ajli 'for', min?ajli 'for the sake of' etc. However, this causal relation seems to be more complex and less frequent than the aforementioned fundamental relationships, probably because the causative relations are marginal with regard



to the natural function of relative clauses which stand for modificatory function.

Consider (a), (b) and (c) in the following examples which include relative clauses of causal relation:

- a) /wa minhā mā yataʔabbā ʔalā baʔDi al-nāsi alladīna naʔaʔū fī bīʔātin lātuqirru mitla hādā al-maʔnā/  
'and one of them is neglected by some of those people who were raised in different societies which do not express meanings like this'

- b) /wa dālika yaDharu ʔataruhu fī tilka al-lahajāti al-xasinati al-jāffati allatī lā takādu tusīghā al-ʔasmaʔ/  
'And that appears in those coarse and rigid dialects which the ear cannot fear'

- c) /balaga bihā al-dirwata allatī istahaqqa bihā ʔan yakūna sayxa al-kuttāb/  
'He reached the peak at which he deserved to be the head of the writers'

- a) /wa biḍikri al-mutarādifāti allatī tuzīdu al-maʔnā wuDuḥā/  
'and by mentioning the synonyms which make the meaning more obvious'

- b) /wa lam takfihi al-nakabātu al-muttaʔilatu allatī naʔaʔat ʔan ʔināyati al-Sabiyyi biḥifḍi al-ʔalfiyyati.../  
'and the continuous difficulties which arose from the boy's concern to learn the Alfiyya by heart were not enough for him'

- c) /ʔaltamisu ʔindaka hādīhi al-quwwata allatī  
ʔastaqbilu bihā suxfa quraysin.../

'I came looking for the strength that you possess  
by which I may face calmly the stupidity of Quraish'  
These denote causal relations in a sense of that which has  
been implicitly indicated by the relationship between the  
relative clauses and the antecedent heads. Semantically,  
therefore, each example involves a distinctive semantic  
relation: reason as in (a), result as in (b) and purpose  
as in (c). In more accurate terms, examples like the  
above have implicative causation since there is a semantic  
connection between the two events involved in an NP  
accounting for reason as in (a) or result as in (b) or  
purpose as in (c).

To recapitulate, one can recognize semantically a  
causative role of 'relative clauses' as that in which  
causation is indicated by its internal relations within  
the preceding structure.

To sum up therefore we can say:

- a) They have internal relation (i.e. causation) with  
the preceding structure.
- b) They involve a physical or mental connection with  
the preceding structure.
- c) They are considered as a sub-semantic class with  
three components: reason, result and purpose.
- d) They are structurally modifiers.

## B) Syntactic features

### The syntactic forms

As we have mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the function of relative clauses is principally that of postmodifier defined on syntactic and semantic grounds; and in CA relative clauses are plainly introduced by a relative pronoun the head noun to which it refers being definite. They are however without a pronoun in surface structure when the head noun which they modify is indefinite. In this manner, relative clauses are similar to qualifying adjectives in having the syntactic status of their head. That is to say, there is a parallelism between the syntactic features of the adjectives and the relative clauses with a head noun. If the head noun is definite the relative will be definite and if it is indefinite the relative clause will also be indefinite. If we contrast (1) and (2) below with their adjective counterparts:

(1) Relative clause:

- a) /haḍā al-yaqīnu alladī sayTara Ṣalā baṢDi al-nāsi.../  
'This certainty which has dominated some people'

Adjective:

- b) /wa hāda al-nasīmu al-Ṣalīlu.../  
'and this gentle air...'

(2) Relative clause:

- a) /...wa kitāban ?āxara lastu ?adri kayfa kāna yusammā/  
'and another book which I did not know what it was called'

Adjective:

b) /faʔarsalathā ʔilayhi maʔa Tiflin Sagīrin/

'and she sent it to him with a little child'

we will see that in 1(a) the head noun and the relative clause which shows gender and number concord with the head are definite as well as its counterparts in 2(a) and (b) also in 1(b), and the head and the adjective have the same grammatical features (i.e. indefinite status). What is to be noted here is that the definiteness of the relative clause and the adjective is made by the relative pronoun and al- respectively, and the indefiniteness is recognized by the absence of the relative pronoun and al- in both types, though they share the features of gender and number concord with the head noun.

As Benvensite says,

"...., there is a parallelism between the syntactic treatment of the adjective and that of the relative clause." (1)

As the adjective is definite by the feature (+al-) and indefinite by (-al), the relative clause as we said before is also definite by the feature (+ relative pronoun) and indefinite (in surface structure) by (-relative pronoun), according to the syntactic status of the head noun. So syntactically, they have the same treatment. The same holds true to the head and relative clause.

In the light of what has been stated as feature characteristics of relative clauses and adjectives with a

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(1) See Benvensite, E., Problems in General Linguistics, 1971, p.185.

head noun, it will be of interest to contrast participles of relativization and those of non-relativization with adjectives in an NP. The relativization of a participle is made by prefixing al- to the participle involved where the absence of al- is a feature characteristic of non-relativized type. In this manner, participles are comparable with adjectives which have al- as a distinctive feature of definite v. indefinite. By way of illustration, compare:

1 - Relativized participle:

a) /hādā al-nasāTu al-muttaSilu.../

'This activity which is continuous...'

Non-relativized participle:

b) /hādā al-nasāTu muttaSil/

'This activity is continuous'

2 - Definite adjective:

a) /hādīhi al-ḥarakatu al-ṣanīfatu.../

'This tough action...'

Indefinite adjective:

b) /hādīhi al-ḥarakatu ṣanīfah/

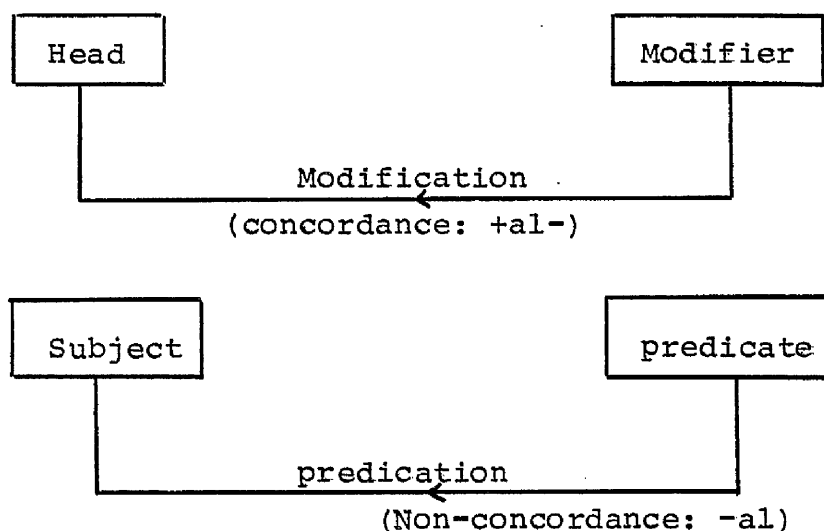
'This action is tough'

However, in these examples, the sequence of the elements is such that the underlined elements in 1 and 2(a) are structurally modifiers and those of 1 and 2(b) are predicates.<sup>(1)</sup> Since the former is marked by the concordance between the two elements and the latter is marked non-concordance.

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(1) The participles and adjectives are dealt with here briefly, for more details see Chapter 6 below.

Thus, the two structures can be diagrammed as follows:



### The syntactic choices

The syntactic options set out here are the ones which are related to the previous semantic options or rather the semantic system dealt with above. These syntactic choices will be dealt with below under the following syntactic headings:

- (1) Qualifier/Appositive
- (2) Single/Multiple
- (3) Adjacent/Separate

The description here will be devoted to the above syntactic features in terms of grammatical relationships, not in terms of phonological units like pause, stress and intonation; the reason being that the phonological features which are related to the phonetic systems of the language are used as means of focus or emphasis or contrast in semantic relationships. Thus, no-one can say, for

instance, that the stress is a marking syntactic feature of an element in a given structure in CA.

(i) (A) qualificative relative clauses

In Arabic relative clauses function as a qualifier in a structure which has sequence of noun as head and relative clause as postmodifier. The choices being made here follow the semantic choices of restrictive, non-restrictive etc.

So in terms of representation, relative clauses fall into two types:

- (1) with which the relative pronoun <sup>is</sup> present e.g.

/lil-fuqara?i alladīna ?uhSirū fī sabīli allāh/

'(And give) unto (such of) the needy who, being wholly wrapped up in God's cause,...' (1)

- (2) with which the relative pronoun is absent e.g.

/rabbanā ?innaka jāmi?u al-nāsi liyawmin larayba fīh/

'O our Sustainer! Verily, Thou wilt gather mankind together to witness the Day about (the coming of) which there is no doubt' (2)

As was pointed out earlier, clauses like these underlined clauses are relativized by the virtue of the relative pronoun whether it is markedly present in surface structure as in (1) or not as in (2). Again the linguistic features of both types are due to the definiteness and indefiniteness status of the head noun, as in (1) and (2)

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.61, verse 273.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.67, verse 9.

respectively. In this way, relative clauses express relatedly to the antecedent involved in the syntactic function of qualification.

It should be stressed in this connection that in terms of hierarchical rank scale<sup>(1)</sup> relative clauses are shifted down the rank scale, in which they form part of a noun phrase in the main clause. So they represent a lower unit in a given structure of modification, by which they are called 'rankshifted' clauses.

Keeping this in mind, relative clauses are syntactically subordinate contrasting with main clauses which involve the head and can stand alone. Therefore, a sequence of an indefinite noun and clause is a definite sign of which the clause is subordinate, and this type of relative clause is an integral structure which colligates with a noun for modificatory reasons.

As the sequence of definite noun and the relative pronoun which is used to introduce a postmodifying clause within a noun phrase, and by which the relative term is extended to the clause as a whole are mirror images of one another.

Furthermore, we assume that a sentence like /al-laḥnu intahā biḥudūṭi al-lugāti al-ʿāmmiyyah/ 'The grammatical mistake has been incorporated into the popular language', can be broken into a structure of

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(1) The term rank is taken from Halliday.



modification by inserting the appropriate relative pronoun between the elements al-lahnu and intahā bihudūti al-lugāti al-Ṣammiyyah. Thus, the nominal phrase: al-lahunu alladī intahā bihuduti al-lugati al-Ṣammiyyati... 'The grammatical mistake which has been incorporated into popular languages...' consists of the element al-lahnu as head and the relative clause as qualificative modifier.

Although these two examples are structurally different, they have one thing in common, i.e. in both types the clause implies a third person pronoun which refers back to the subject and the head noun respectively, and which again the Arab grammarians call al-Damiru al-Ṣāʾid 'the referring back pronoun; the pronoun which occurs obligatorily (be it implied or expressed) in clauses like the above and agrees with the antecedent in gender and number.

To illustrate this in relative clauses, consider:

- 1a) /al-Sadīqu alladī ibnuhu ʿindī/  
'The friend whose son is at my house'
- 1b) /nazala al-maṭaru alladī  hayāh/ (1)  
'The rain which is a sort of life came down'
- 2a) /wa ittaqu yawman turjaʿūn fīhi ʿilā allāh/  
'And be conscious of the Day on which you shall be brought back unto God' (2)

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(1) This example is taken from Hasan, A., vol.I, p.396.  
(2) Asad, op.cit., p.62, verse 281.

2b) /wa ittaqū yawman lā tajzī  nafsun ʔan nafsīn  
sayʔā/

'and fear a day, in which a soul shall not make  
satisfaction for (another) soul at all'

where in surface structure terms the relative clauses in  
(a) contain a personal pronoun which falls back upon the  
head noun, and those in (b) do not since the pronoun is  
ellipted for reasons of economy, emphasis or style, and  
is recoverable from a scrutiny of the context.<sup>(1)</sup> The  
structural effect of this is that, although these relative  
clauses are structured in terms of well formed structures,  
the overt pronoun increases the number of the clauses in  
which it occurs, whereas the covert pronoun (with or without  
combination) will reduce the number of the elements of  
the clause in which it can occur. So syntagmatically, we  
can account for the fact that in the above relative  
clauses, the occurrence of the referring pronoun (i.e. in  
(a)), does replace the second NP, both at the surface  
structure and in its syntactic function, the first noun  
and the pronoun figuring in the structural configuration  
of the 'nominal group' thus must be referentially identical  
so that the replacement may take place; a syntactic  
representation which does not occur with those relative  
clauses in (b).

Further, in (a) the overt pronoun is used as an  
emphatic pronoun. The assignment of this function is based

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(1) The empty box represents the ellipted pronoun (with  
or without combination) which refers back to the  
head noun.

on the grounds that the pronoun occurs after the head noun to reinforce it. The situation is different with the relative clauses in (b) where the covert pronoun is ellipted for various semantic considerations. (Note that the first set is characterized by the presence of the 'relative pronoun', whereas the second is not. Both types represent syndetrical and asyndetrical relative clauses respectively).

To conclude the distinctive features of syndetrical and asyndetrical relative clauses, a summary of the main points is given below:

#### Syndetrical types

- (1) They modify a definite noun
- (2) They have a relative pronoun
- (3) They are not reversible except with a proper noun e.g. /lūmī al-layālīya allatī ʔaxnat ʔalā jidatī.../ 'Blame the nights of misbehaviour which destroyed my wealth' \*/lumi allatī ʔaxnat ʔala jidatī allayyālī/
- (4) They contain a referring pronoun (be it explicit or implicit)

#### Asyndetrical types

- They often modify an indefinite noun
- They have zero pronoun
- They are not reversible e.g. /wa mā al-ʔaysu ʔillā muddatun sawfa tanqadī/ 'Life is only a period of time which will be ended' \*/wa mā al-ʔaysu ʔillā sawfa tanqadī muddah/ They contain a referring pronoun; explicitly or implicitly.

B) Appositive relative clauses

An appositive relative clause is assigned where the relative clause shows apposed relationship with the preceding general head noun. This is based on the fact that the feature 'Appositive' in relative clauses follows 'exceptive' or 'partitive' <sup>elements</sup>. In other words, relative clauses have an appositive feature when they are assigned any status other than part status in relation to the head noun involved, and which appears normally in association with one of three sub-classes: substitutive Identificatory and Conditional functions which can be extracted from the clause involved, representing fact or belief or possibility.

So in terms of features, the relative clauses dealt with below fall into various feature sequences:

- |   |   |            |
|---|---|------------|
| (1) Fact: exceptive: substitutive       | } | Appositive |
| (2) Belief: partitive: identificatory   |   |            |
| (3) Possibility: partitive: conditional |   |            |

Illustrations:

- 1) /qāla ?āmantu ?annahulā ?ilāha ?illā alladī ?āmanat  
bihi banū ?isrā?īl/  
'(Pharaoh) exclaimed: "I have come to believe that there is no deity save Him in whom the children of Israel believe" (1)
- 2) /wa mina al-nāsi man yattaxidu min dūni allahi ?andādā/  
'And yet there are people who choose to believe in beings that allegedly rival God' (2)

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.305, verse 90.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.34, verse 165.

- 3) /wa lillāhi ʔalā al-nāsi hijju al-bayati man  
istaʔāʔa ʔilayhi sabīlā/

'Hence, pilgrimage unto the Temple is a duty owed to  
God by all people who are able to undertake it.' (1)

Note that in (1), structurally speaking, type (1)  
is usually marked by the negative particle lā before the  
substituted noun and the exceptive ʔillā before the  
relative clause. In (2) the structure is marked by the  
partitive preposition (min) before the first appositive;  
which indicates that the relative clause rather emphasises  
the partial reference of it. In (3) the structure is  
characterized by the element of the appositive of partitive  
relationship possessed (man istaʔāʔa...) following its  
Head al-nās.

However, the functions of relative clauses  
presented above do not exhaust all the possibilities of  
function. For instance, the occurrence of particular  
particles (subordinators) introducing clauses makes also  
possible the following patterns. Keeping in mind what we  
have mentioned above (pp.172 - 174):

- 1a) /yawaddu ʔahaduhum law yuʔammāru ʔalfa sanah/  
(wish)

'Every one of them would love to live a thousand  
years' (2)

- 1b) /niʔma al-ʔabdu Suhaybun, law lam yaxafi allāha  
lam yaʔsih/ (reason)

'Suhayb is an excellent worshipper so that even if he  
did not fear God he would not disobey him'

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.82, verse 97.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.20, verse 96.

- 2a) /raʕaw zarʕahum kay yajūd/ (reason)  
 'They took care of their plantation so that it would be good'
- 2b) /mā ʔafāʔa allāhu ʕalā rasūlihi min ʔahli al-qurā falillāhi wa lil-rasūli wa liḏī al-qurbā wa al-yatāmā wa al-masākīni wa ibni al-sabīli kay lā yakūna dūlatan bayna al-ʔaghiyāʔi minkum/  
 'Whatever (spoils taken) from the people of those villages God has turned over to His Apostle (all of it) belongs to God and the Apostle, and the near of kin (of deceased believers), and the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, so that it may not be (a benefit) going round and round among such of you as may (already) be rich' (1) (2)
- 3a) ʔinnā ʔarsalnā nūḥan ʔilā qawmihi ʔan ʔandir qawmaka... (purpose)  
 'BEHOLD, we sent Noah unto his people, (saying:) "Warn thy people..." (3)
- 3b) /katabtu ʔilā ʔaxī biʔan sāsīd/  
 'I wrote to my brother that you must help'
- 3c) /katabtu ʔilā ʔaxī biʔallā tusāsīd/  
 'I wrote to my brother that you must not help'
- 4a) /al-marʔu mā ʕāsa mamdūdun lahu ʔamal/  
 'One would not stop hoping as long as he lives'

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.851, verse 7.

(2) The subordinator kay 'that' has other compound forms such as likaylā, kayma and likayma. All are used as subordinator introducing a relative clause.

(3) Asad, op.cit., p.896, verse 1.

- 4b) /al-marʔu mā lam tufid ʔiqāmatuhu gaymun.../
- 'One whose residence (with you) is of no use, is like a cloud...'

Attention should be drawn to the fact that in our description we do not follow the traditional grammarians who dealt with examples like the above under various labels. The reason for this is that their treatment is prescriptive whereas ours is descriptive (see the Introduction of this thesis). In this way, the underlined clauses are pseudo relatives subordinated to the previous clauses, giving various semantic relations under the general term modification.

The following are the main points which characterise the above clauses as lying inside subordinate relative clauses.

- (1) They are subordinate structures since they are syntactically marked by formal indicators of subordination; the subordination however is made here by
  - a) a simple subordinator as in (a) and
  - b) a compound subordinator as in (b) and (c).
- (2) They represent by their syntactic configuration a dependent class in which they are related to previous clauses of an independent class.
- (3) These pseudo relative clauses function as post-modifying clauses, but the function of these clauses, in contrast with the basic relative clauses, is limited

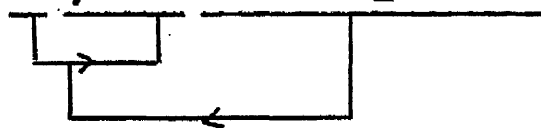
by the fact that they are normally abstract; i.e. they modify events, facts, states, ideas, etc.

- (4) The omission of the subordinator in these examples will produce unacceptable structure.

After illustrating qualificative, appositive and pseudo relative clauses, we represent them diagrammatically in Figures 1-3.

(1)

/maʕa ʔanna al-ḥayāta allatī tuḍilluhum wāhidah/



'although the life which shelters them is one (i.e. although they live on equal terms)'

Fig. (1) qualificative relative clause

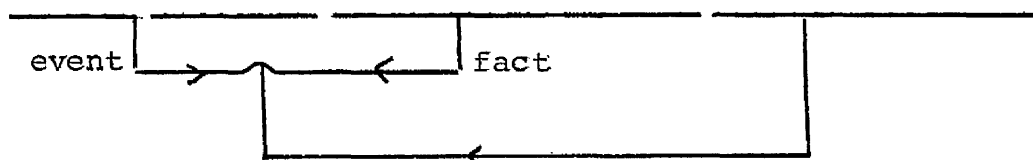
/wa lillāhi ʕalā al-nāsi hijju al-bayti man istatāʕa



'Hence, pilgrimage unto the Temple is a duty owed to God by all people who are able to undertake it'

Fig. (2) appositive relative clause

/waddat Tāʔifatun min ʔahli al-kitābi law yuḍillūnakum/



'A party among the people of the Book would fain lead you astray'

Fig. (3) pseudo relative clause



## Single/Multiple

A single relative clause is a structure of one place, while a multiple is a sequence of two or more relative clauses coordinated by a conjunction like (wa) 'and'. This occurs when the head noun involved is thought of as having varieties of descriptive properties.

Compare:

### Set I

- a) /dālika al-xayyāTu alladī kāna yaʿmalu hammālā/  
'This tailor who was working as a porter'
- b) /wa baʿda ʔan faqada ʿammahu alladī kāna yamnaʿuhu  
wa yaqūmu dūnah/  
'and after he has lost his uncle who was protecting  
him and standing up for him'

### Set II

- a) /wa gannīnī dālika al-sawta alladī kāna maʿsara mā<sup>(1)</sup>  
laqīti mina al-ʔadā, wa alladī sayakūnu maʿsara<sup>(2)</sup>  
mā talqīna mina al-naʿīm/  
'and let me hear your voice which was the cause of  
what happened to you, and which will make you live  
in luxury'
- b) /minhum ḥadā al-hājjū al-xayyāTu alladī kāna dukkānuhu<sup>(1)</sup>  
yakādu yuqābilu al-kuttāba, wa alladī kāna al-nāsu<sup>(2)</sup>  
mujmiʿina ʿalā waʿfihi bial-buxli wa al-suḥḥi, wa  
alladī kāna muttaʿilan biṣayxin min kibāri ʔahli<sup>(3)</sup>  
al-turuqi, wa alladī kāna yazdarī al-ʿulamāʔa<sup>(4)</sup>  
jamīʿan; liʔannahum yaʔxudūna ʿilmahum mina al-kutubi<sup>(5)</sup>  
la ʿani al-sayxi, wa alladī kāna yarā ʔanna al-ʿilma<sup>(6)</sup>  
al-saḥīḥa ʔinnamā huwa al-ʿilmu al-ladunnī/

'This tailor whose shop was just near the Quran school, who was known as miserable and greedy man, who was in a friendly relation with one of the great religious sheikhs, who had no respect for any scholars; because they got their knowledge from books not from sheikhs and who thought that the perfect knowledge was mystical knowledge.'

Set III

- a) /...hattā yaruddā hādīhi al-gāʾibata <sup>(1)</sup> allatī ʾasrafat  
<sup>(2)</sup> fī al-gaybati wa qaṣṣarat fī dāti al-zawji wa al-ʾabnāʾi  
wa al-banāt/

'... to return back this absent woman who went so far in her absence and neglected her husband, sons and daughters'

- b) /wa mā ʾasadda nukra hādīhi al-sāʾati <sup>(1)</sup> allatī  
<sup>(2)</sup> ʾaqbala fīhā baʿdu al-nāsi wa iḥtamalū al-Tiflata  
<sup>(3)</sup> wa maḍaw bihā ʾilā haytu lā taʿūd!/

'What a difficult hour this was at which some people came, and carried the girl child and took her away to where there is no return!'

These three sets of examples show that (1) includes one relative clause, (2) includes more than one relative clause and (3) involves several relative clauses in which the relative pronoun is not repeated in surface structure. Although these sets are presented in singly and multiply they have one thing in common, i.e. each relative clause is attached to modify the head noun in question. On the other hand, the multiple relative clauses

1 2 1

constitute a coordinate string, in which each clause represents a recursive process. In this way, we have multiple modifications in which, structurally speaking, no priority among modifiers need be assumed (i.e. the relative clauses involved can be reordered); to these multiple modifiers we may give separate prosodic emphasis or commas between them.

As was pointed out earlier, this multipleness occurs in order to express the qualities related to the head noun, which distinguish it from the other counterparts of the same class.

However, the difference between sets (2) and (3) is thus describable by reference to marked and unmarked types with regard to the multiple relative clause; the latter presuppose that the multiple clause is a consequence, or chronologically sequent to the event in the first. Hence the relative pronoun is ellipted.

Finally, in this connection, attention should be drawn to the fact that in our description we did not consider the difference between (2) and (3) given for clarification as Cantarino does with SA. The reason we do not is that his view is not strictly true since both types of multiple clauses can be said to be given for clarification whether the relative pronoun is present or not; or whether the first clause is very long or not. His view is shown in the following quotation:

"It is, however, repeated when the relationship of the coordinated relative clauses would otherwise not be clear, e.g., when the first one is very long or is followed by other clauses." (1)

He does not give enough syntactic criteria to substantiate his assumption except that the repetition of the relative pronoun is due to the length of the first clause or to separation by other clauses.

We see no justification in assigning the repetition of the relative pronoun to the occurrence of an initial long relative clause or to separation by other clauses since the linguistic factor for repeating and non-repeating the relative pronoun is describable by reference to determinative/descriptive relation system. Again, the latter is a feature of a consequent related to the event in the preceding clause, but not the former where each relative clause is a pure addition to the preceding one.

#### Adjacent/separate

An adjacent relative clause occurs immediately following the head noun whereas a separate clause is separated from the head noun as illustrated above.

For example:

(1) Adjacent:

(a) al-qabīlatu hiya al-wahdatu allatī inbanā ʕalayhā  
kullu niḍāmin ijtīmāʕiyy/

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(1) See Cantarino, V., Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose, The Compound Sentence, Subordinate Clauses, vol. 3, 1975, p.164.

'The tribe is the unit on which every social system  
established'

- b) al-juzʿu alladī yamtaddu min jabali al-hijāzi.../

'The part which spread from the Hijaz mountains...'

- 2) Separate

- a) /hādihi al-ṣīsatu al-badawiyyatu allatī kānat  
sāʾidah/

'this bedouin life which was prevalent...'

- b) /sabbiḥ isma rabbika al-ʔaʕla alladi xalaqa fasawwa  
wa alladi qaddara fahada wa alladi ʔaxraja al-marʕa/

'EXTOL the limitless glory of the Sustainer's name:

(the glory of) the All-Highest, who creates (everything), and thereupon forms it in accordance with what it is meant to be, and who determines the nature (of all that exists), and thereupon guides it (towards its fulfilment), and who brings forth herbage,...' (1)

As the underlined relative clauses show, in (1) they are adjacent to the head noun, whereas those in (2) are separated from the head; the separation is made by relational adjective as in (a), and by superlative adjective as in (b) where also the relative clauses separate each other from the head noun, a separation which is syntactically and semantically intended.

To finish off this chapter, it is worth mentioning again that after investigation we found that the clauses which are introduced by a relative pronoun are frequently verbal.

(1) Asad, op.cit., p.946, verses 1-4.

CHAPTER IV  
QUANTIFIERS

Introduction

This chapter undertakes to describe quantifiers vs numerals under the label 'Modification' since the relationships obtaining between different elements in noun phrases containing quantifiers and numerals make it possible to distinguish the quantifiers from the numerals. The contrast is made between noun phrases containing these two terms only because they have certain features in common. In this regard, it is assumed that there are points of difference between 'Quantifier' and 'Numeral'. To represent these points in terms of grammatical features, we shall make use of the comparison below.

(1) The grammatical categories: masculine, feminine and plural in the forms of the quantifier are unmarked, i.e., quantifiers which prepose the head are usually used without gender and number markers, whereas numeral forms in the same position are marked by the endings (-t and +t) to which the numerals usually exhibit gender polarity with the following head noun. Compare the following two lists of examples:

(1)	(2)
<u>Pre-posed quantifier structure</u>	<u>Pre-posed numeral structure</u>
/lam ta <sup>g</sup> mal kulla ʕarabi al- si <sup>m</sup> āl/ 'It does not involve all the northern Arabs'	/wa hum ʔarbaʕatu ri <sup>j</sup> āl/ 'and they were four men'

/kullu ʔummatī muʔāfā ʔillā /jāʔa ʔarbaʔu fatayāt/  
 al-mujāhirūn/ 'four girls came'

'all my people are pardoned  
 except those who reveal  
 their bad deeds'

2) Quantifier and numeral contrast with each other within a common grammatical area when occurring in the transposed structure. The quantifier has a suffixed pronoun which agrees with the head noun and, at the same time, it refers anaphorically to the same element. While the numeral has one of the comparable marks (-t and +t) which show gender agreement with the head, so the system ending pronominal v. (-t, +t) markers has a relation of simultaneity with the related system quantifier v. numeral feature. For instance, compare:

(1)

(2)

Post-posed quantifier structure

Post-posed numeral structure

/iʔtakafa ʔusbūʔan kullahu/

/ʔindī rijālun talāt

'he remained alone for a whole  
 week'

'Three men are with me'

/al-ʔardu kulluhā/

/ʔindī fatayātun talatat(un)

'the whole land'

'Three girls are with me'

It is interesting to notice that comparable marks may occur with a small group of quantifiers as given below. But the choice of the suffix pronoun, which is attached to the following quantifier, is confined to the context in some cases. That is to say, the concord between the head noun and the quantifier is fully represented via a suffixed

pronoun, provided the head is in the singular or sound plural. But if the head noun is in the generic or broken plural the form of the suffixed pronoun which carries the concordial relation will vary according to the categorial status of the head. So the post-posed quantifiers with human generic or plural head have full concord, while with non-human objects and human parts they have loose concord; a feature which invalidates the concordial system (see below).

Consider:

- 1a) /qāma al-muḥammadūna kulluhum/  
'The Mohāmmads came, all of them'
- 1b) /jāʔa al-qawmu kulluhum/  
'The people came, all of them'
- 1c) /jāʔa al-rijālu kulluhum/  
'The men came, all of them'
- 2a) /basaqat al-naxlu kulluhā/  
'The palm trees became tall, all of them'
- 2b) /malaʔū dilāʔahum kullahā/  
'They filled their buckets, all of them'
- 2c) /muddat al-ʔaydī kulluhā ʔilā al-zād/  
'The hands were extended to the food, all of them'

However, if we classify the gender and number uses with quantifiers we can have the following diagrams which may make the classification clear.



	Number	gender	pro.	Ex.
(1)	Singular	masc.	+hu	kulluhu 'all of it'
		fem.	+hā	kulluhā 'all of it'
	non-human	It applies to quantifiers with generic noun, broken plural and parts of the human body, and the quantifiers meaning 'all of them'		

	Number	gender	mark	pro.	Ex.
(2)	Dual human	masc.	+ā	+humā	kilāhumā 'both of them'
		fem.	+tā	+humā	kiltāhumā 'both of them'
	non-human				

	Number	gender	pro	Ex.
(3)	Plural	masc.	+hum	kulluhum 'all of them'
		fem.	+hunn	kulluhunn 'all of them'
	human			

3) Another point of difference is that as far as the word class is concerned, quantifiers fall into four morphological classes: noun, adjective, numeral and particle/adverb (see below), while numerals are always numeral (be they cardinal or ordinal). This is the typical class associated with their function, which can be morphologically subclassified into noun and adjective to which the cardinals and ordinals belong respectively. e.g.

1a) /kullu banī ʔādama.../  
'all human beings...'

1b) /lugātun kaṭīrah/  
'many languages'

1c) /... miʔāti al-sinin/  
'... hundreds of years'

1d) /kam riǧālīn.../  
'how many men...'

2a) /xamsu Salawāt/  
'five prayers'

2b) /al-juzʔu al-xāmis/  
'the fifth part'

4) The last point of difference between quantifiers on the one hand and numerals on the other is that the quantifier is numerically non-specific whereas the numeral is specific, e.g.

a) /kullu al-riǧāl/  
'all men'

b) /ṭalāṭatu riǧāl/  
'three men'

After showing the demarcation line between quantifiers and numerals in the light of the above differences, we proceed to deal with quantifiers in this chapter.

### The Class of Quantifiers

In the above introduction, we gave, by way of contrast, a small-scale outline of the differences between quantifiers and numerals. Here our description will be focused on quantifiers. Two points regarding the concept 'quantifier' will be demonstrated. That is to say, the object is to demonstrate the fact that the term

'quantifier' is used here in terms of its various relations with the head noun which are assigned to it by linguistic description. To put it differently, the importance of the quantifiers in linguistic description lies in the fact that they are a class of elements which have syntactic and semantic relevance. Quantification as a semantic concept is described by reference to the "total", "partitive", "distributive" etc. As a syntactic class also they form a particular sub-class of "Modifier", and reveal interesting facts about the mechanism of "Focus" in the noun phrase.

It should be mentioned that we are here only discussing the quantifying items when they function as a modifier not as a Head in a noun phrase since they represent a syntactically dependent class even if the head noun is implied, as will be illustrated below.

However, before the description goes further with quantifiers, two viewpoints regarding their function will be briefly reviewed. The main reason for this is to demonstrate that the term 'quantifier' is used here to cover a wider group of elements and types of function than that assigned to it by the traditionalists and modern linguists.

The first is that of the traditionalists. They have described some elements under the label /al-tawkidu al-maʿnawiyy/ 'the corroboration in meaning', by which they meant that the corroborative term is made in a nominal phrase by a post-posed corroborative word. They confine this meaning to a group of words which are designated for

strengthening the idea of totality or of self that is already contained in the centre noun.<sup>(1)</sup> In modern linguistic terms, the quantifier is used by the traditionalists to involve elements under the terms emphasis or reflexiveness to which they have their function as 'muʔakkid' 'Emphasizer' with a preceding noun.

For the purpose of the present study, we would like to stress the fact that the traditionalists used 'al-tawkid' as a semantic/syntactic term. Though, as they say, the term is applied to a limited number of words, we would assume that these words are part of the group of quantifying items in CA.

The second viewpoint to be mentioned is that of Qafisheh who treats quantifiers in SA as elements of quantity/amount used to modify the head noun in a total or partitive relationship. This viewpoint can be illustrated by the following two quotations:

"Intensifying quantifiers include kull 'all, whole, every', jami, 'umuum 'all, whole, or entire', and nafs 'same (very), -self'... kull has a dual form kilaa 'both', and modifies a dual definite count noun. ... The total intensifiers jami, 'umuum 'all, whole, entire' modify count and non-count nouns." (2)

"Partitive include nouns designating indefinite amounts and quantities. They do not show any concord with the nouns they modify, but are related to them in a partitive relationship." (3)

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- (1) See Wright, W., op.cit., vol.II, p.282.  
See also Hasan, A., op.cit., vol. III, pp.484-508.
- (2) and (3) See Qafisheh, H., English pre-nominal modifiers and Corresponding Modern Standard Arabic Structures. University of Michigan, Ph.D., 1968, pp.70, 71 and 68 respectively. See also El Khoreiby, A.H., A Syntactic Study of the Category of Number in the Arabic Dialect of Manzala (Egypt), Ph.D., 1973, pp.70-71, 397.

The second view more or less holds true to CA, though as we said, we deal with it in more detail and with a different approach of description. For instance, in (1) the quantifiers in pre-posed position can be said to have other functions than intensive (see below) since the intensive function applies only when they modify a following singular noun e.g. kull rajul 'every man' with which the distributive meaning is associated.

Also to represent the term 'quantifier' in terms of grammatical feature: Modifier, we shall make use of Francis's description:

"Two other kinds of modifiers also appear in noun phrases. Their position is between the determiner and the first adjective, if there is one. Nearest to the determiner is the position for quantifiers, a group of modifiers which includes words like few and many as well as all the numbers," (1)

in which he states that the quantifiers are a group of modifiers which include words like few and many.

However, it is worthwhile noting at this point that the quantifiers we have talked about so far have the following characteristics:

- (i) Each type represents a modifying term in the structure of an NP.
- (ii) They occur as a premodifier or postmodifier in nominal phrases.
- (iii) They contrast in that the total type indicates that

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(1) See Francis, W.N., The English Language: An Introduction, 1965, p.40.

the quantifier is used where there is an indefinite total of exclusive meanings, whereas in the partitive function the quantifier is used where the partitive quantity/amount is inclusive.

In this way, if we examine the illustrations below:

	Premodification	Postmodification
Set I		
a)	/jāʔat kullu al-qabīlah/	/jaʔat al-qabīlatu kulluhā/
	'the whole tribe came'	'the people of the tribe came, all of them'
b)	/fidāka jamīʔu ḥayyi xawlān/	/fidāka ḥayyu xawlāna jamīʔuhum/
	'all the tribal community of Khawlān are redemption for you'	'the tribal community of Khawlān are redemption for you, all of them'
Set II		
a)	/jāʔanī baʔDu al-qawm/	/jāʔanī al-qawmu baʔDuhum/
	'part of the people came to me'	'the people came, part of them'
b)	/jāʔa muʔDamu al-nās/	/jāʔa al-nāsu muʔDamuhum/
	'most of the people came'	'the people came, most of them'

Set III

- a) /wa naSabnā Ṣalayhā /wa naSabnā Ṣalayhā majānīqa  
Ṣiddata majānīq/ Ṣiddah/  
'and we installed on 'and we installed on the fences  
the fences several several mangonels'  
mangonels'
- b) /... Ṣadada sinīn/ /... sinīna Ṣadadā/  
'... a number of years' '... a number of years'
- 

We notice that the quantifiers in Set I are total and function as premodifiers and postmodifiers; in this respect it is assumed that the reason for the above quantifiers' preceding the head noun is to make more explicit the meaning of the generic reference, while the reason for those which follow the head noun is to refer to individuals already specified. In other words, the quantifier in a prenominal phrase means that the whole body or entire class of the head noun is involved, and in a postnominal phrase means that all the individuals are being talked about, those in Set II are partitive quantifiers and serve also as premodifiers and postmodifiers, those in Set III are enumerative of 'multa' which can function as pre-modifier and postmodifier without morphological change. That is to say, Ṣiddah and Ṣadad are morphologically different from the quantifiers shown on the preceding page in that they can follow their head noun without a suffix pronoun. In this they resemble the cardinal numerals and certain other quantifiers as shown below on p.222.

Having established, though in brief, the main types of quantifiers and their function as premodifier and postmodifier of the nominal phrase which they modify, as the above examples illustrate, we propose here to give an account of the large number of diverse quantifying structures as shown below, we will give special attention to the main divisions: Morphology, syntax and semantic since they show the essential syntactic and semantic distinctions in function and morphological classes in form. For the sake of this treatment, we will explore the following points successively:

- (1) Types of structure in which quantifiers occur.
- (2) The grammatical features of the structure invoked as regards def./indef. and gender/number concord.
- (3) The decisive factors which account for our assignment of the quantifiers to the morphological classes.
- (4) The grounds on which a variety of syntactic structure stands, and exhibit semantic properties of quantifier to which the function is based.
- (5) Semantic types of quantifying function.
- (6) The syntactic structures of the quantifiers.
- (7) The syntactic characteristics of the quantifiers.

(i) Nominal phrase structure of quantity

As has been illustrated above, the structure of the nominal phrase consists of premodifier + head noun or head noun + postmodifier in which the modification is carried out by quantifiers. The two possibilities set up to describe the relationship of modification between the elements in



the structure of the nominal phrase. The term 'structure' however is used here following the definition given by Halliday,

"It will be necessary therefore to give a brief account of the structure of the nominal group, in order to explain the grammar of reference in more explicit terms. The logical structure of the nominal group is one of modification; it consists of a 'Head', with optional 'modifier'. The modifying elements include some which precede the head and some which follow it; the distinction in the relative position of modifying elements is semantically significant, so it is useful to make it terminologically explicit, and we shall refer to modification preceding the head by the term premodifier and to that following the head by the term postmodifier." (1)

Following that in CA nominal phrases including quantifier are of two patterns: simple and complex. The simple NP is made up of two elements of structure: quantifier + head noun or head noun + quantifier e.g. /yā man yurajjā likulli al-ṣadāʾid/ 'you are the only one whom people ask for help in all hardships', and /yā man yurajjā lil-ṣadāʾidi kullihā/ 'you are the only one whom needy people ask for help in hardships, all of them'

The complex is performed by the combination of:

a) Single head and multiple quantifier e.g.

/fasajada al-malāʾikatu kulluhum ʾajmaʿūn/

'Thereupon the angels prostrated themselves, all of them together'

- 
- (1) See Halliday et al., Cohesion... op.cit., pp.37, 39, 40.  
(2) Asad, op.cit., p.386, verse 30.

- b) Single quantifier and multiple head e.g.  
 /wa taqraʔu jamīʔa al-kutubi wa al-qisās/  
 'and she reads all the books and stories'
- c) Multiple head and single quantifier e.g.  
 /wa julūdi al-niʔāj wa al-Daʔni kulliha/  
 'and the skin of the female sheep and sheep, all of them'
- d) Multiple head and multiple quantifier e.g.  
 /... huwa al-istimaʔu ʔilā al-qaṣaṣi wa al-ʔahādīti  
 kullihā jamʔāʔ/  
 'It is to listen to stories and talks, all of them'

These examples show that the complex structure is realized in various types of structure: one of which we call 'modification' by one quantifier with multiple head as in (b) and (c), and the other is 'modification' by multiple quantifier with single or multiple head as in (a) and (d). The syntactic effect of multiplication is that it increases the number of elements which occur in association with the process of quantification, giving semantically further information.

However, it is worth noting at this point that not all the combinations of kull and baʔD with a head noun indicate quantity. Consider:

- 1a) /wa raḍiya ʔabū mirrata kulla al-riḍā/  
 'and Abu Murra was extremely satisfied'
- 1b) /wa zaʔama ʔannahu kallama rajulan mina al-mulhidīna  
 fi baʔDi al-ʔaṣāyā/  
 'and he claimed that one evening he had a talk with a heretical man'

- 2a) /ʔanta al-Σālīmu kullu al-Σālīm/  
 'you are scholar, real scholar'
- 2b) /fī baΣDi al-ʔayyām/  
 'one day'

In (1) and (2) above, although the elements kull and baΣD in NPs, and the syntactic structure are similar to those of prequantified NPs, no quantity is implied; since these elements function here in a different semantic structure, i.e. they operate as intensive in (a) and as a stressed form of the indefinite time as in (b) which is contextually assigned. As a consequence, these forms are not regarded as quantifiers.

(ii) The grammatical features

In the foregoing section, we dealt with types of what is labelled 'Nominal phrase structure of quantity'. Here the description proceeds with the grammatical features of quantifiers within the structure of an NP. These grammatical features are formally exhibited by:

A) Definite/indefinite realization

It is worthwhile mentioning here that the feature 'definiteness', as we stated above (Chapter I), is made in two ways which we repeat for the sake of this study:

- (1) the definite article al- prefixed to an element  
 e.g. al-qurā 'the villages'
- (2) an indefinite element annexed to definite or  
 indefinite element e.g.

- a) ʔummu al-qurā 'the main village'
- b) Sāhibu ʔilmin 'a man of learning', though this example, according to Arab grammarians except ʔabī ḥayyan<sup>(1)</sup>, is not definite. Furthermore, they consider the definiteness in (a) is applied to each element separately; i.e. they regarded the second element as being definite by the article al- and the first one acquired the definition by being annexed to the second.' So, the two NPs are definite separately.

However, an attempt is being made to give the whole phrase the value of definition (in 2a and b) since the two noun phrases are syntactically bound together as one element in a given structure. In this way, the focus of attention is on definiteness as a feature of the whole nominal phrase.<sup>(2)</sup> For this assumption we have been examining the following crucial factors:

- (1) Nominal phrase of which the construction composed of two elements syntactically bound together is made definite by having the definite article al- within the compound NP. In other words, when the structure-forming two closely connected noun phrases stand together as one word, the definite article gives definition to the whole phrase in which the article is used to work simultaneously in both directions, or rather in the two compound elements, e.g. /ʔumma kulī min kullī al-ṭamarāt/ 'and then eat of all manner of fruit'<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) See Abd El-Hamid, op.cit., vol. 3, p.87.

(2) I am indebted to my supervisor, Dr. B. Ingham, for this idea.

(3) Asad, op.cit., p.405, verse 69.

(2) A Nominal phrase is given a definite value as a whole even if the two annexed elements occur without al- since quantitative premodifiers are closely associated with the head as to be regarded as compounded with it. In such cases, as the first element is to be narrowed down by the second, the emerging definiteness came out of annexation, hence the nominal has specific reference as well as that NP with al-. Thus the nominal phrase, which consists of premodifying quantifier and head, kullu imri?in 'every human being' in kullu imri?in bimā kasaba rahīn 'every human being will be held in pledge for whatever he has earned,'<sup>(1)</sup> would be understood as having specific reference in which the head imri?in 'human being' is made quantitatively definite with the preceding quantifier kull 'every'.

(3) Nominal phrase is also made definite by the sequence of quantifier, noun and possessive pronoun, so that tantaqimu fī al-?āxirati min jamīʿi ʔaʿdāʔihi 'the fire will revenge from all his enemies at the hereafter' where the definite status is not a feature of individuals, but of the whole underlined nominal group. This is based on the grounds that this kind of NP is tied up as a whole by possessive pronoun in which the pronoun refers anaphorically to the possessor and the possessed at the same time. In clearer terms, the suffix pronoun here is anaphorically operating

- a) by reference to the possessor, and
- b) by definiteness to the possessed

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.808, verse 21.

Hence in this example the pronoun -hi 'his' refers to (Allah) by reference and to jamīʿi ʔaʕdāʔi 'all enemies', by definition since the pronoun is suffixed for specification, a criterion which characterises definite status. Again, this description is linguistically more significant than that of others where ʔaʕdāʔ is defined by -hi and jamīʿ is defined by ʔaʕdāʔihi.

(4) Nominal phrase has the definite value in which the construct composes of a quantifier + a demonstrative e.g. ʔaqābalta kulla hāʔulāʔʔ 'have you met all these people'

(5) Finally, nominal phrase is given a definite status as a whole by being a sequence of head noun, quantifier and pronominal suffix in which the pronoun is suffixed for concordial relation. With which the whole phrase is assigned definite by reference and structural configuration which are the characteristic feature of this unique pattern of nominal phrase, e.g.

- a) /Sumtu sahran kullahu/  
'I fasted one month, all of it'
- b) /nahaDat al-jamāʕatu kulluhā/  
'Group of people got up, all of them'

(B) Gender and number concord

The behaviour of quantifying modifiers with their head noun varies from type to type. By this we mean that a preceding quantifier never has a suffixed pronoun, whereas a following quantifier usually has an appropriate

pronominal suffix to show a full agreement with the head noun involved. Thus, concordial relations can be briefly illustrated in the following structures:

(1) Non-suffixing, non-agreeing

Modifier (quantifier) + head

- a) /kullu imri?in rahnun bimā laḏayh/  
'every man is liable to what he has done'
- b) /kullu imra?atin maḥzūnah/  
'every woman is sad'
- a) /lam yakun fī kullī al-?aḥwāl/  
'the resort was not in all times'
- b) /kullu al-lugāt/  
'all languages'

As these examples show, in this type of structure, the quantifiers in pre-position have no gender and number markers, and they are always in singular form.

(2) Suffixing, agreeing

Head + modifier (quantifier) + pronoun

- a) /qara?tu al-kitāba kullahu/  
'I read the book, all of it'
- b) /wa fataḥa al-madīnata kullahā/  
'and he conquered the city, all of it'
- a) /inSaraḑa al-zā?irūna kulluhum/  
'the visitors have left, all of them'
- b) /?aqbalat al-fatayātu kulluhunn/  
'the girls came, all of them'

The above illustrations show that the quantifiers in post-position have gender and number concord with the head noun; a concord which is carried by a suffixed pronoun.

However, two points should be explored in this connection. The first is to explore the concord between a following quantifier and collective or broken plural; the second is to explore the same relation by a quantifier (in pre- or post-position) with dual head noun.

(1) As the first occurs, the concord is fully realized with a human head noun and loosely represented with non-human head or abstract head.

Full agreement:

- a) /jāʔat al-qabīlatu kulluhā/  
'the tribe came, all of it'
- b) /jāʔa al-qawmu kulluhum/  
'the kinsfolk came, all of them'
- c) /haDara al-zumalāʔu kulluhum/  
'the colleagues came, all of them'

(2) Loose agreement:

- a) ʔakaltu al-tamra kullahu/  
'I eat the dried dates, all of them'
- b) /... dūna al-bahāʔimi kullihā/  
'it is less than the animals, all of them'
- c) /liʔanna hādīhi al-xiSāla kullahā.../  
'because these properties, all of them'

In these cases, the loose agreement may be logically justified since, generally speaking, the collective noun,



broken plurals and non-human sound feminine plurals collocate with a quantifier suffixed by a singular feminine pronoun in a peculiar concord. This is a logical concord regarding the singular feminine sense in the head noun, otherwise the quantifier will be suffixed by a singular masculine pronoun; if the head is collective regarded as masculine as in (a), thus:

- a) /ḥaDara al-rakbu kulluhu/ :  
'The travelling party came, all of them'
- b) /al-ʔibilu kulluhā/  
'the camels, all of them'
- c) /wa ʔallama ʔādama al-ʔasmāʔa kullahā/  
'And He imparted unto Adam the names of all things' (1)
- d) /wa laysa ʔahādun min ʔahli al-Sināʔāti kullihā/  
'and no one of the people of letters, any of them'

(2) The quantifiers with dual head noun shows a full agreement whether they occur preceding or following the head noun; the difference between their usage in both positions is one of suffixation. Compare:

- a) /kilā al-rajulayn.../  
'both of the two men'
- b) /al-rajulān kilāhumā.../  
'the two men, both of them'
- a) /kiltā al-marʔatayn.../  
'both of the two women'
- b) /al-marʔatāni kiltāhumā.../  
'the two women, both of them...'

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.9, verse 31.

To summarize, as illustrated above, not all quantifier + head structures show gender and number concord. The system is illustrated from the following cases.

- Case I: Non-suffixing, non-agreeing  
 quantifier + head (all quantifiers  
 except *kilā*)
- Case II: Non-suffixing, agreeing  
 quantifier (*kilā*) + head
- Case III: Suffixing, agreeing  
 head + quantifier + (returning pronoun)  
 (except some quantifiers)

Having established the occurrence of the quantifier as premodifier and postmodifier in the nominal phrase, and explored the grammatical features with regard to gender and number concord, though briefly, as illustrated above. The following description is devoted to the main divisions: Morphological, syntactic and semantic.

(iii) Morphological classification

We may mention here that Arabic quantifiers have been treated by some linguists as members of one class: Noun<sup>(1)</sup> or quantifier.<sup>(2)</sup> The view of the present writer is that the quantifiers fall into four classes: Noun, adjective, numeral and adverb/particle. These proposed classes are based on morphological and syntactic characteristics which we put forward, after giving the representative word classes. The object is to demonstrate first the fact that the term 'quantifier' is carried out by more classes than that given to it by other linguists including traditionalists.

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(1) Qafisheh, op.cit., p.68.

(2) El-Khoreiby, op.cit., p.68.

The following quantifiers thus are given as representatives:

Class I: Noun:

kullu nafs-in 'every human being'

biDΣu rijāl-in 'few men'

Σiddatu kutub-in 'several books'

Σāmmatu dūrihim 'most of their houses'

sā?iru al-nās 'the rest of people'

baΣDu al-?aΣrāb 'some of the Bedouins'

kawmun mina al-TaΣām 'a heap of food'

kilā al-rajulayn 'both of the (two) men'

tullatun mina al-rifāq 'a group of  
companions'

biDΣu ?ajyāl-in 'few generations'

kawkabatun mina al-fursān 'a group of  
the horsemen'

qaTīΣun mina al-ganam 'a group of sheep'

Class II: Adjective:

lugātun katīrah 'many languages'

?abyātun qalīlah 'few verses'

lahajātun mutaΣaddidah 'numerous dialects'

al-nāsu jamiΣā 'all people'

al-basarū ?ajmaΣūn 'all the human beings'

suΣūbu al-sarqi jamΣā? 'all the people  
of the east'

taΣaddudu al-?arā? 'a great number of  
opinions'

al-fatayātu jumaΣ 'all the girls'

al-tamru ?ajmaΣ 'all the dried dates'

?aqlabu al-suΣarā? 'most of the poets'

muṣḍamu ?ārā?ih 'most of his ideas'

jullu al-maḍāhir 'most of the aspects'

Class III: Numeral: ...ṣadāda sinīn 'a number of years'

mi?ātu al-kutub<sup>(1)</sup> 'hundreds of books'

...?ayyām-un maṣdūdāt: 'a limited number  
of days'

xamsatu al-kutub 'five of the books'

sabʿun mina al-sayyidāt<sup>(1)</sup> seven of the  
ladies'

Class IV: Particle/ kam mulūk-in 'number of kings'

Adverb: wa kayyin min nabiyy-in 'number of prophets'

kaḍā Dirham-an 'so many dirham'

Dirhamānī faqat 'two dirhams only'

bikutubin fahasb 'by books only'

Sabrānī (lāgayru <sup>(2)</sup>) 'two patiences only'  
(laysa gayru)

These classes are set up on the basis of a set of factors. However, a brief treatment of the above classes will be given here; each class being dealt with separately. Following are the main characteristic points for each class:

- 
- (1) Here the numerals mi?āt and xamsah function as a quantifier in the sense that the relation holding between the numerals and the heads is non-specific. The same is true for examples like talātātun mina al-?awlad 'the three of the boys', ?ahādu al-nās 'one of the people and ?ahādun mina al-nās 'one of the people'.
- (2) Note that fawaT is considered by the Arab grammarians as ismu fiʿl 'verb in nominal form', hasb as ism 'noun' similar to adverb, though both are equal in meaning and function, and lāgayr, laysa gayr as nouns. See Ḥasan, op.cit., vols. 1 and 2, p.422, pp.140,147 and p.130 respectively.

(1) From a general linguistic standpoint the underlined quantifiers given under Class I belong to the class of noun.

This is based on the following crucial factors:

- a) They are morphologically noun-forms
- b) They are not verb derived elements, but morphologically basic or primitive.
- c) They never occur in a comparative and superlative form since they are nouns. Such a comparative and superlative form here will produce unadmissible structures. e.g. \*ʔabʕaD, \*ʔaktaru baʕDan and \*al-ʔabʕaD.
- d) They cannot be preceded or followed by the intensifiers jiddu 'very', haqqu 'certainly, indeed' or their equivalent forms jiddan, haqqan respectively, e.g. \*jiddu baʕDu al-llugāt
- e) They cannot syntactically stand as predicates with a few exceptions, e.g. quraysun kulluhā... 'the people of Quraish, all of them...', whereas some of them can stand as subject (with implied head noun) e.g.  
/wa kullun fī falakin yasbahūn/  
'since all of them float through space (in accordance with our laws)', (1)
- f) Quantifiers of this class are often joined in a genitive construction to another noun.
- g) The distinction between this class and adjective class is made where quantifiers like kull, baʕD,

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.677, verse 40.

Σāmmah are designated to indicate undetermined content which apply to nominated items, whereas the adjectives are basically designated to be attributed elements to a noun (see Chapter V on adjectives).

(2) The underlined elements under class II belong to the class of adjective. They are adjectives in the following respects:

- a) They are morphologically derived words since the elements jamīΣ, ?ajmaΣūn, jamΣā?, jumaΣ and ?ajmaΣ are derived forms from the verb jamaΣa 'to collect', to give the plain adjective form jamīΣ, the two masculine comparative forms ?ajmaΣūn, ?ajmaΣ and the two feminine forms of adjective jamΣā?, jumaΣ. The same holds true to the rest of class two elements, i.e., they are derived and can have comparative and superlative forms. e.g. qalīl from the verb qalla 'to be little' and kaṭīr from the verb kaṭura 'to be much', both can have the comparative or superlative form which is a formed pattern of adjective. Hence ?aqall 'less', al-?aqall 'the least' and ?aktar 'more', al-?aktar 'most of'.
- b) The elements qalīl, kaṭīr and mutaΣaddidah can be modified by one of the adverbs jiddu, jiddan 'very' and haqqu, haqqan 'indeed'.
- c) Syntactically, they can stand neither subject nor predicate, except qalīl, kaṭīr and mutaΣaddidah

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where the formers can occur as subject (with an implied noun) and predicate, and the latter can only occur as a predicate.

(3) Numerical elements under class III are morphologically a sub-class of class I. Syntactically they have special characteristics. The reason we deal with them under the concept 'quantifier' is that the above structures of numeral are made quantity in a delicate sense that they are referring to non-specific relationship with the head.

(4) Under this class, particles, which are assigned by being uninflected forms, often have grammatical meaning rather than lexical meaning. Nor are they assignable to a lexical consonantal root. They are used to modify the meaning of the lexical words or rather to quantify a following noun which they modify. On the other hand, adverbs, which can be assigned to a consonantal root, are functionally quantifiers similar to particles. Both particles and adverbs carry variously an adverbial relationship to the head noun.

So far, the discussion has been centred around the distinctive factors on which we divided the quantifiers into four classes. The object now is to describe, classify and differentiate the syntactic structures which are overtly marked by a quantifying modifier. The description will be undertaken in terms of the quantifier's syntactic behaviour under the headings premodifier, postmodifier and variable, invariable modifier which cover

all modification by quantification of the types illustrated above. In this way, the description will be further extended to the elements which are covertly made reference to quantity.

The central notion is that the term quantification is a semantic 'feature' and that many elements may show, denote this feature. However those grouped here as "quantifiers" are elements showing this feature and occurring specifically as modifiers in the NP under certain definable conditions. The underlined quantificative elements represent modifiers which occur in combination with another syntactic class. Hence the examples given below under the label syntactic classification show how this classification works for the quantifier of modificatory function. As was pointed out earlier, the examples presented below fall into four syntactic classes; each class represents a modification type.

(iv) Syntactic features

(A) Syntactic classification (on the basis of the simple structure)

Class I premodifier (quantifier and noun in genitive)

- 1a) (kullu )  
 ( )  
 (jamīzu ) al-ʕarab 'all the Arabs'  
 ( )  
 (ʕammatu ) al-nahār 'the whole of the day'
- 1b) (kawkabatun min )  
 ( ) fursāni al-ʕarab  
 (tullatun min ) 'a group of the Arab horsemen'



- 1c) kullun min zaydin wa lamr 'both of Zayd and 'Amr'  
kullu ?ummat-in 'every nation'  
kull-un jā? 'every one came'
- 1d) baΣDu al-lugāt 'some of the languages'  
qalīlan mina al-mā? 'a little of the water'
- 1e) kila al-rajulayn <sup>both)</sup> of the two men  
<sub>each)</sub>  
kiltā al-mar?atayn (f.) <sup>both)</sup> of the two women  
<sub>each)</sub>
- 1f) katurun mina al-nās 'most of the people'  
(mΣDamu) al-nās 'most of the people'  
(ΣuDmu)  
ΣuDmun min al-?anṢār 'a great group of al-?anṢār'  
(jullu) } al-xarāj 'most of the land tax'  
(?aktaru)  
Ṣadadun min al-raḡiq 'a number of the slaves'  
talātatu al-?ixwān 'three of the brothers'  
?ahadu al-rahḡālīn 'one of the explorers'

Class 2 post modifier

- 2a) al-Duyūfu ?ajmaΣūn 'all the guests'  
al-?usratu jamṢā? (f.) 'all the family'  
al-fatayātu jumaΣ (f.) 'all the girls'  
al-Ṣalamu ?ajmaΣ 'the entire world'  
...al-māla ?ajmṢa-hu 'the whole sum of money'
- 2b) al-qawmu bi?asri-him 'the people, all of them'
- 2c) ...xamsata kutubin faqaT 'only three books'  
hasbu  
fahasb
- 2d) ...al-fuḡarā?u lāgayru 'only the poor people'  
laysagayru

- 2e) ...al-musrikīna xāSSat-an 'the polytheists in particular (only)'  
 ...al-nāsu māʿā 'all people'  
 ...darāhima maʿdūdah 'a mere few silver coins'

Class 3: variable modifier

- 3a) ...ʿiddati qurūn-in) ) 'several centuries'  
 ...qurūnin ʿiddah ) )  
 3b) ...ʿadada sinīn ) ) 'a number of years'  
 ...sinīna ʿadadā) )  
 3c) ...talāttatun mina al-rijāl) ) 'three of the men'  
 ...mina al-rijāli talātah ) )  
 3d) ...ʿalā kāffati al-muslimīn<sup>(1)</sup> 'over all Muslims'  
 ...ʿalā al-muslimīna kāffat-an  
 ...qāTibata ʿahli al-ʿadyān<sup>(2)</sup> 'all people of religions'  
 ...ʿahla al-ʿadyāni qāTibat-an  
 ...ʿammatu al-nās 'the masses of people'  
 ...al-nasu ʿāmmat-an 'all people'

Class 4: Invariable modifier

- 4a) biDʿu rijāl-in 'few men'  
 4b) kam ʿāmmat-in 'how many aunts'  
kayyin<sup>(3)</sup> min qaryat-in 'how many a village'  
 4c) kaḍā dirham-an 'so many dirhams'  
 4d) hattā al-ʿaTfāl 'even the children'

Under class I, we have nominal phrases involving premodifier and head noun, as in 1(a-f). The structure is a modification represented by two elements quantifier and noun throughout

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(1) This structure is used by the caliph ʿOmar, and  
 (2) is used by al-Jahiz, see Hasan, op.cit., vol.2, p.379.  
 (3) It is noted that kaʿayyin is frequently used with a coordinator, i.e. wa kaʿayyin.

these examples, except in 1(b), and some of 1(d) and 1(f) the structure has more element: preposition, which may be brought for a syntactic reason, i.e. it is used as a function word showing an equal syntactic relationship between the two parts of the nominal phrase (the premodifier and the head), in such a way similar to the article *al-* 'the'; since we cannot say, for instance, *katīrun mina nās* or *katīrun al-nās*. So *min* and *al-* are making a balance between the two elements i.e. *katīr* and *nās*. This is the normal structure of class I unless the structure is transposed for semantic consideration (see below); whereas the counterpart structure under (2) is made of head + postmodifier, as in 2(a-e), where the postmodifier is a quantifier by nature as in set 2(a) and (b) and by force as in 2(c-e), in a fixed order as well as (b). In clearer terms, although the first set 2(a) and (b) are similar in meaning to some cases of (1), by:

- a) having focus on the modifying element, and
- b) showing gender/number form in accordance with the head, in which 1 is a transposed structure, the quantifiers in 2(a) and (b) never occur as premodifiers, and never show a suffixed pronoun, except *?ajmaʕ* and *?asr* where the former may or may not be suffixed by a pronoun and the latter must be suffixed (see p.221 ). In 2(c-d), the underlined elements, though they have postmodifying function, show neither gender nor number concord with the head which they modify. They are however brought into this study by having quantifying force upon the head noun in a

way that they limit the range of the preceding noun. On the other hand, with class 3, the quantifier can equally precede, or follow the combined noun with almost no semantic distinction. That is to say, the quantifier here is variably functioning as premodifier and postmodifier. The difference between premodification and postmodification in the above pairs of examples (sets 3a-d) lies in the fact that the former is established by quantifiers in a genitive construction with a following head noun, whereas the latter is made by quantifiers which follow the head noun in a sequential structure. However, both types have one thing in common: they do not have a suffixed pronoun. Finally, the invariable modifier under 4 is a quantifier which occurs always preceding the head noun where the transposition is logically and structurally impossible.

The foregoing four syntactic classes illustrate the fact that modification by 'quantifier' is distinguished in three respects:

- (1) The quantifiers differ from other adjectives in that they are more dependent and they can occur as premodifiers in an NP unlike the adjectives.
- (2) The premodifying element collocates often with genitive noun, as it is given above in such examples.
- (3) The nominal phrase in which the quantifier is involved may be definite or indefinite as a whole, according to its grammatical feature, as illustrated above.

After this brief investigation of the notion 'modification' by quantification, and the basic assignment of quantifiers to classes premodifier, postmodifier, variable and invariable, attention is drawn to the transposed and non-transposed structures, and to strings of quantifiers.

(B) The transposed structure

Some quantifiers of class I can be used in a structure which is transposed, and in which the 'returning pronoun' - "al-Damīru al-ʔāʔid" - is used to show coterminality with the head noun the quantifier modifies e.g.

- 1a) /...sāda al-nāsu kullu-hum/  
'...people prevailed, all of them'
- 1b) /jāʔa al-qawmu ʔāmmatu-hum/  
'the tribe or family came, all of them'
- 1c) /qabDtu al-māla jamīʔa-hu/  
'I received the money, all of it'
- 1d) /ixtaSama al-Zaydāni kilā-humā/  
'the two Zayds had an argument, both of them'
- 1e) /lāzamatka al-husnayāni kiltā-humā/  
'keep the two excellent things: health and wealth, both of them'
- 1f) /wa al-ʔarabu ʔummatun ʔaktaru-hā.../  
'and the Arabs are a nation, most of it...'
- 1g) /marartu bi al-ʔixwāni talātati-him/  
'I passed by the brothers, the three of them'
- 1h) /Dulumātun baʔDu-hā fawqa baʔD/  
'darkness one upon another'

The examples presented above involve quantifiers transposed from the first position to the second position in the NPs. The quantifier thus is morphologically marked as transposed by a suffixed pronoun; for this purpose. However, in the quantitative structure certain quantifiers may be transposed within the NP involved for reasons of focus and are accorded intensive function.

(C) Non-transposed elements:

(a) Preferably non-transposed elements

A group of quantifiers which are followed by concomitant prepositions normally precede the noun they modify. The transposition is logically perhaps possible but structurally does not occur at the level of NP. Furthermore, these quantifiers are distinguished as a class with which the partitive preposition *min* 'of, from' occurs between the modifier and the head noun. Examples:

1a) /*min qulūbi katīrin mina al-nās*/

'in the hearts of many people'

1b) /...*wa sāʔiri al-maʔlūmāt*/

'and the rest of knowledge'

1c) /...*?an taqtariba kawkabatun min fursāni al-ʔarab...*/

'as soon as a group of Arab horsemen reach...'

1d) /*?akala qalīlan mina al-Taʔām*/

'He ate some (of the) food'

1e) /... *fī ʔadadin mina al-qurā*/

'in a number of villages'

(b) Non-transposed elements

From the syntactic sequence of the elements involved in modifying by quantification below, we note that certain quantifiers are fixed before the noun they modify; they never follow it. This is based on the fact that neither logically nor structurally can these quantifiers be transposed. So, they have the syntactic feature "non-transposable", such as:

- a) /kam mulūk-in bāda mulkuhum/  
'How many kings have their kingdoms perished'
- b) /wa kam min malakin fī al-samawāti.../  
'and there is many an angel in heaven' <sup>(1)</sup>
- c) /wa kaʔayyin min nabiyy.../  
'and how many a prophet...' <sup>(2)</sup>
- d) /maʔī kadā dirham-an/  
'I have so many dirhams'
- e) /lifulānin ʔindī kadā wa kadā dirham-an/  
'I owe someone so and so many dirhams'
- f) /tullatun mina al-ʔawwalīn/  
'a good many of those of olden times' <sup>(3)</sup>

(D) Strings of quantifiers

Lastly we may mention that the sequence of transposed and non-reversible quantifiers following the head noun is a characteristic feature of the collocation of two corresponding

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(1) Wright, op.cit., vol.II, p.126.  
(2) Asad, op.cit., p.89, verse 146.  
(3) Asad, ibid., p.830, verse 13.

quantifiers represented by kull with a suffixed pronoun and one of the total quantifiers of class 2a (p. 221). They collocate in an unbroken string for emphasizing totality in the head noun, whereas the sequence of the quantifier kull and one of the partitive quantifiers (like jull, ?aktar, muΣDam, baΣD etc.) is a feature of a possible combination of two contrastive quantifiers. They are broken by the coordinator ?aw 'or', representing a modification by total and partitive quantifiers simultaneously. However, this type is quite common at least in MSA. It is of interest to note that the broken type which occurs only in pre-posed head position is a choice between two quantifiers, or rather two options, modifying the head noun, whereas the unbroken type shows no choice. Further, as a difference between the coordinate and other modifiers, the coordinator wa 'and' never occur in quantifying strings, i.e. fī kulli wa julli maDāhiriha 'in all and most' is not possible. With other modifiers however it can occur i.e. ...Σālimin muxtālin wa magrūr 'a snobbish and arrogant scholar', while the use of wa within a quantifying string will produce two mutually contradicting interpretations. In the following way:

(1) Broken types:

- 1) /fī kulli ?aw julli maDā?iriha/  
'in all or most the features of it'
- 2) /sa?ahfaDu kulla ?aw muΣDama al-qaSīdah/  
'I will memorize all or most of the poem'
- 3) /mundu ?aktara ?aw ?aqalla min sahr/  
'since more or less than a month'



(2) Unbroken types:

- 1) /wa kāna ʔalā al-ʔālami kullihi ʔajmaʔ/  
'and it was the duty of the world, all of it'
- 2) /istaḏhara al-qaṣīdata kullahā jamʔāʔ/  
'he memorized the poem, all of it'
- 3) /ʔakramtu al-zāʔirīna kullahum ʔajmaʔīn/  
'I honoured the visitors, all of them'

Having illustrated structurally the main types of modification by quantification and the system within which quantifiers show various types of structural behaviour in NPs, and explored the common features of the "quantifier" in general, we intend to define this semantic/syntactic term by looking in detail into its different linguistic uses and interpretations. This may suggest that although, in principle, quantification of the NPs in a given structure is viewed as a unifying feature common to all types of modification by quantification, reference should be made to certain semantic properties by which the quantifiers fall into various types, and the syntactic structure would accordingly be described. In semantic terms, quantifiers are classed as total, partitive and limit. Each one has sub-semantic types.

(v) Semantic types of quantifying function

As was pointed out above, we propose to give a full treatment to the nominal phrases which are typically structures of modification, simultaneously they have another

dimension in terms of function, by which the quantifiers refer to various semantic types:

- a) /marartu bi kulli al-qawm/ total  
'I passed by all the people'
- b) /yaltaqiTuhu baΣDu al-sayyārati.../ partitive  
'(whence) some caravan may pick him up' (1)
- c) /jāʔa al-zaydūn ʔanfususuhum/ limiting  
'The Zayds themselves came'

It is a fact that such structures of quantification as the above three types are contrastive since in fact the quantifier in each type reflects a contrastive meaning which attributes it to a special type. Taking this fact into account, the distinctive functions: "total", "partitive" and "limit" are assigned, and the "quantifiers" in nominal phrases carry the syntactic function in the so-called modification by quantification, whose meaning is basically to reinforce the meaning of the head noun. As Chafe says,

"The fact that a quantifier can be specified - in fact, regularly is specified - as new might suggest that quantifiers should not be regarded as inflectional elements within nouns, but that they should be handled as semantic units with independent status,... It should be pointed out, however, that quantifiers differ from lexical units such as verb roots in several ways. For one thing, there are relatively few of them, if we ignore the trivial fact that numerals, a type of quantifier, are unlimited.... Third, their meanings are based essentially on a reinforcement of the meaning of the inflectional units of a noun,

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.338, verse 10.

even though typically they add some further meaning of their own. They are intimately tied to noun inflection in a way that we might not expect of a more independent kind of unit." (1)

In this manner, the occurrence of a "quantifier" in an NP is again a distinctive characteristic of a term whose function is one of 'modification' and its meaning is rather one of intensity in the structure of the nominal phrase; in such a way that the head is being modified, and quantified by the quantifier involved.

After illustrating the representatives of the main types of "quantifier", we proceed to describe each type.

(A) Function (meaning) of total quantifier

Under this label, the description will be first focussed on four sub-semantic contrastive functions, namely, distributive, inclusive<sup>(2)</sup>/distributive, total/distributive and total inclusive when the quantifier occurs in the pre-posed<sup>position</sup>. Then the description will be centred around the quantifier in post-position where we have two types of functions: intensive and limiting. These are the semantic types of total 'quantifier' which can be recognized in CA. However, the first four types of quantifying function are represented by the following sets of examples:

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- (1) Chafe, op.cit., p.228. The emphasis is mine since these words support our distinction between quantifiers and numerals, as illustrated above (see pp.194 - 198).
- (2) The two terms "inclusive and distributive" are used in accordance with Leech's definition. See Leech et al., A Communicative of English, Longman, 1975, p.50.

Set I

- a) /wa likulli wāḥidin min ḥādīhi al-ʔazlāmi naSīb/  
'and a share is given to each one of these divining arrows' (distributive)
- b) /yā nīsāʔa al-nabiyyi lastunna kaʔahadin mina al-nisāʔ/  
'O wives of the prophet! You are not like any one of the (other) women' (1)
- c) /mā kāna muḥammadun ʔabā ʔahadin min rijālikum/  
'And know, O believers, that Mohammad is not the father of any one of your men' (2)
- d) /taṣmalu kulla fardin mina al-rijāl/  
'it involves each one of the men'
- e) /likulli imriʔin min hum/  
'every one of them' (3)

Set II

- a) /fajlidū kulla wāḥidin min humā miʔata jaldah/  
'AS FOR the adulteress and the adulterer - flog each of them with a hundred stripes' (4) (inclusive/distributive)
- b) /kilā al-ʔamrayn/  
'both) of the two matters' each)
- c) /kiltā al-jannatayn/  
'each of the two gardens' (5)
- d) /ʔayyū rajulin jāʔaka ʔakrimh/  
'any (one) man came to you, be generous to him'

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.644, verse 32.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.647, verse 40.  
(3) Asad, ibid., p.535, verse 11  
(4) Asad, ibid., p.532, verse 2.  
(5) Asad, ibid., p.444, verse 33.

Set III

- a) /kullu nafsin dāʔiqatu al-mawt/ (total/distributive)  
'every human being is bound to taste death' (1)
- b) /qul kullun yaʔmalu ʔalā sākilatih/  
'say: every one acts in a manner peculiar to himself' (2)
- c) /wa ḥafiḍnāḥā min kulli sayṭānin rajīm/  
'and we have made them secure against every Satanic force accursed' (3)
- d) /kullun min ḥabīla wa qābīl/  
'both of Ḥafīl and Qabīl'

Set IV

- a) /kullu al-Saydi fī jawfi al-farā/ (total inclusive)  
'there are all kinds of game in the belly of the wild ass'
- b) /wa ḥadihi ʔāyātun bayyinātun yaqraʔuhā jamiʔu  
al-muslimīna fī kitābihim/  
'and these are obvious verses which all muslims read in their book'
- c) /wa ʔammatu ʔabniyatiḥā ḥijārah/  
'and (all ) of its buildings are (of) stone'  
(the great part)
- d) /wa junūdu ʔiblīsa ʔajmaʔūn/  
'and the hosts of Iblīs - all together' (4)
- e) /wa ʔanjayna mūsā wa man maʔahu ʔajmaʔīn/  
'and we saved Moses and all who were with him' (5)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.615, verse 57.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.432, verse 84.  
(3) Asad, ibid., p.384, verse 17.  
(4) Asad, ibid., p.566, verse 95.  
(5) Asad, ibid., p.565, verse 65.

Examining the underlined elements of nominal phrases in the above sets of examples, we note that the nominal phrases are virtually structures of modification; semantically they have various types in terms of function, by which the quantifiers given above fall into four semantic types. In set (I), the quantifier, at the semantic level, implies distributive meaning in relation to the quantified noun, i.e., the quantifier is stated to quantify the members of the head noun singly. This semantic type is marked by the preposition 'of' directly following the indefinite element: meaning one. In (II), we have a quantifier whose function may be inclusive or distributive; according to the linguistic consideration, i.e., if the quantifier serves to pick out the two members of the quantified noun all together, the function will be inclusive, but if the quantifier operates to select the two members of the quantified noun singly, the function will be confined to distributive. In (III) the quantifier shows total in quantifying the members of the head noun all together, and distributive in quantifying singly, hence the function is total/distributive considerably. In (IV), the quantifier is total inclusive, because it quantifies the noun as a whole. This type is marked by the absence of the preposition 'in' 'of' from the structure of quantification.

It is worth mentioning that there is overlap between the structure of quantification including the preposition 'in' 'of' and the genitive structure involving the possessive

min 'of' (see partitive quantification below) To recapitulate, these various sub-semantic types of total quantifiers are made in a delicate sense, assigned by the sequence of structural elements, realising the above semantic interpretations. However, this sequence is brought about by the fact that distinctive semantic functions of systemic choices are made here, i.e., a special instance of sub-function occurs when the elements of structure is the realization of a number of systemic choices. In this way, the above types are made respectively as follows:

- (1) The first is made by the sequence of:
  - a) quantifier + indefinite singular element + min + definite plural element, in which the numerical one is a stressed variant of the indefinite marker
  - b) quantifier + min + definite plural element
  - c) both structures have a plural form following min representing source
  - d) quantifier + min + coordinate structure
- (2) The second is realized when the quantifier is quantifying dual quantified noun, whatever its structural representation is.
- (3) The third is represented by the sequence of quantifier + (indefinite singular noun) - min  
 - (implied noun) )
- (4) The fourth is represented by a quantifier + definite noun (singular or plural).

We have so far illustrated the plain functions of total quantifiers. Total quantifiers express the finer

semantic functions: intensive and limiting. Intensive function is served by the use of the transposed structure with certain modifiers of the total function.

### The intensive function

Quantifiers which can have the intensifying function in CA include all of the set of "total quantifiers" i.e. kull 'all, whole, entire, each, every', kilā, kiltā, 'each, both', jamīl, ṣāmmah, ʔajmaṣ, jamṣāʔ, ʔajmaṣūn, jumaṣ, 'all together', ṣayn, nafs 'same, self'.

kull has the meanings 'all, whole, entire' if the head noun is definite and it has the meanings 'each, every' if the head is indefinite, as illustrated above. In pre-position, the total quantifiers have one of the previous semantic types, according to the structural configuration and syntactic choices. Here, in post-position they are used to intensify the quantified noun for focus reasons. On the other hand, although the total quantifiers show different uses they have two things in common: they give the quantified noun a prominence and explicitness to the fact that the meaning is total.

However, the intensive function here is made by a transposed quantifier to post-head position, or by a quantifier of fixed post-position. In discussing these transposed and fixed structures, we distinguish between the "intensive" function of total quantifiers and "narrowing" of partitive quantifiers. If the quantifier is semantically coterminous with the quantified noun we



regard this as "intensive" e.g. jāʔanī al-qawmu kulluhum  
 'The people came to me, all of them'. If the quantifier  
 is not semantically coterminous with the quantified noun  
 it is regarded as "narrowing" e.g. jāʔanī al-qawmu baʔduhum  
 'The people came to me, some of them'.

So, 'intensive' function is structurally and  
 semantically conditioned by two conditions:

- a) total quantifier in post-head position.
- b) the quantifier is semantically coterminous with  
 the quantified noun.

Consider the exemplifications given below where the  
 feature intensive referred to above is realized in (b)  
 Set (I) and in (a-e) set (II). Note also that the  
 'intensive' function is realized by a transposed quantifier  
 as in (b) set (I), whereas in set (II) it is realized by  
 a fixed quantifier.

Set I

- a) /wa kullu al-Tayri ʔalā talātati ʔaDrub/  
 'and all birds are divided into three kinds'
- b) /wa al-Tayru kulluhā ʔalā talātati ʔaDrub/  
 'and the birds, all of them are divided into three  
 kinds'
- a) /fī jamīʔi al-ʔazminah/  
 'in all times'
- b) /fī al-ʔazminati jamīʔihā/  
 'in the times, all of them'
- a) /inSarafa ʔammatu al-Duyūf/  
 'All the guests have left'

- b) /inSarafa al-Duyūfu Ṣammatuhum/  
'the guests have left, all of them'
- a) /raʔaytu kilā ʔaxawayk/  
'I have seen both of your brothers'
- b) /raʔaytu ʔaxawayka kilayhimā/  
(I have seen your two brothers, both of them'
- a) /marartu bikiltā ʔuxtayk/  
'I passed by both of your sisters'
- b) /marartu biʔuxtayka kiltayhimā/  
'I passed by your two sisters, both of them'

## Set II

- a) /mina al-jinnati wa al-nāsi ʔajmaṣīn/  
'with invisible beings as well as with humans, all together' (1)
- b) /min ṣuṣūb al-ṣarqi jamṣāʔ/  
'with regard to the east nations, all of them'
- c) /ʔidān Ḍaliltu al-Dahra ʔabkī ʔajmaṣā/  
'in that case I would pass all my time in weeping'
- d) /jāʔa al-qawmu biʔasrihim/  
'the people came altogether'
- e) /ʔaxaḍtu al-ṣayʔa birummatih/ (2)  
'I took the thing altogether'

As for the other intensifiers like Ṣayn, nafs 'same, self', the meaning in general is like kull 'all', i.e.

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(1) Asad, *ibid.*, p.635, verse 13.

(2) Footnote: rummatun is assumed to intensify the object involved which includes poor and valuable things and it is used as well as ʔasr with the head noun by means of the preposition bi prefixed to each one of them.

they show totality upon the intensified noun. They have intensive function when they occupy post head position in an NP. In this position, they are also regarded as emphatic reflexive pronouns since each one is definitely used to signal, and conform that it is referentially equivalent to the preceding noun phrase; in which a mixture of members is involved. So in phonological terms, they receive end-focus. As Quirk says:

"With another type of noun phrase, however, it is clearly to give end-focus rather than end-weight that the postponement takes place. This is the noun phrase with an emphatic reflexive pronoun (himself, etc.) in apposition"(1)

However, the following examples illustrate this where in

(b) the element  $\Sigma$ ayn or nafs is intensive: Compare for instance:

- a)     /?axadtu <sup>M</sup> $\Sigma$ ayna <sup>H</sup>mālī/
- 'I took (my) the same money'
- b)     /?axadtu mālī ( $\Sigma$ aynahu
- (bi $\Sigma$ aynihi) (2)
- 'I took my money itself'
- a)     /dafa $\Sigma$ a ?ilayhi <sup>M</sup>nafsa <sup>H</sup>al-say?/
- 'he gave him the same thing'
- b)     /dafa $\Sigma$ a ?ilayhi <sup>H</sup>al-say? <sup>M</sup>a nafsahu/
- 'He gave him the thing itself'

(1) Quirk, op.cit., p.425.

(2) Note that the use of the prepositional particle /bi/ is admissible before the emphatic pronoun as well as the quantifier ?ajma $\Sigma$ , i.e. /bi $\Sigma$ aynihi/, /binafsihi//bi?ajma $\Sigma$ ihim/, lit. 'with himself, with himself, with all of them'.

Note that *ṣayn* and *nafs* occur normally following the head noun with which they are marked off by "a returning pronoun" which shows the concordial relationship with the head. The following examples are sufficient to show again the function of *ṣayn* and *nafs* as intensive and the gender/number concord by which these two elements show coterminous with the head noun. Consider:

- 1a) /jāʔa al-ʔamīru binafsi-hi/
- 'the prince himself came'
- 1b) /raʔaytu al-muṣallimayni ʔanfusa-humā/
- 'I saw the two teachers themselves'
- 1c) /qāma al-zaydūna ʔanfusu-hum/
- 'the Zayds themselves stood up.'
- 1a) /jāʔat hindun nafsu-hā/
- 'Hind herself came'
- 1b) /marartu bi al-hindayni ʔanfusi-himā/
- 'I passed by the two Hinds themselves'
- 1c) /jāʔat al-zaynabātu ʔanfusu-hunn/
- 'The Zaynabs themselves came'
- 2a) /qābaltu al-wāliya ṣayna-hu/
- 'I met the ruler himself'
- 2b) /jāʔa al-zaydāni ʔaṣyunu-humā/
- 'the two Zayds themselves came'
- 2c) /Sāfahtu al-wulāta ʔaṣyunu-hum/
- 'I shook hands with the rulers themselves'
- 2a) /jāʔat zaynabu ṣaynu-hā/
- 'Zaynab herself came'
- 2b) /xarajat al-fatātāni ʔaṣyunu-humā/
- 'the two girls themselves went out'

2c) /... lam yarudd hāʔulāʔi al-niswata ʔaʕyuna-hunn/

'unless he restores those women themselves'

The total intensifiers in the above examples are performed by the words ʕayn and nafs. They are in fact members of sub-semantic class 'emphasizer'. They demonstrate the structure of intensifying noun phrases. Their function here is conflated with the function modifier, suggesting that both are features of this type of structure.

(B) Function of partitive quantifiers

As was mentioned above, the quantifiers fall semantically into the main types: total, partitive and limiting, the partitive however is achieved by items designated for this purpose, indicating an indefinite quantity/amount. These items in a given NP are related to the head noun they modify in a partitive relation. However, to show partitive, CA makes use of words like baʕD 'some', biDʕ 'few', tullah 'group', kātīrun min 'many of', qalīlun min 'few of', muʕDam 'most of' jamaʕatun min 'group of' Subratun min 'heap of' etc. (see below).

These items and others will be dealt with as modifiers functioning within nominal phrases in respect of

- a) their semantic functions
- b) their syntactic features

The latter will be described later under syntactic features including all types of quantification.

So, nominal phrases involving partitive quantifiers illustrate the semantic function which they have. In this

semantic type, the quantifier is characterized by the following facts:

(1) It serves in an NP to show partitive meaning or rather it reflects a contrastive meaning to total quantifier since the quantifier here is brought to shrink the domain of the head noun. That is to say, partitive quantifiers are given to shrink the domain of the head involved from having all members of a class to a subset of that class and they prevent the head noun from becoming generic.<sup>(1)</sup>

(2) The partitive quantifier may give a prominence to the quantified noun

(3) It may have genitive meaning since the structure in which it occurs is a partitive genitive where the min<sup>(2)</sup> genitive particle may optionally apply.

These characteristics distinguish what are called partitive quantifiers. Consider the following examples where the quantifier is partitively related to the head noun.

a) /wa zaʕama baʕDu ʔahli al-kitāb/

'and some of the people of the book claimed'

/wa lawlā dafʕu allahi al-nasa baʕDahum bibaʕD/

'For, if God had not enabled people to defend themselves against one another'<sup>(3)</sup>

/wa laqad faDDalnā baʕDa al-nabiyyina ʕala baʕD/

'but, indeed, we did endow some of the prophets more highly than others'<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Chafe, *op.cit.*, p.206.

(2) Note that min may be seen as explicative particle, even though the structure is still one of quantification.

(3) Asad, *op.cit.*, p.512, verse 40.

(4) Asad, *ibid.*, p.426, verse 55.

- b) /fī biD̥i sinīn/  
'in a few years'
- c) /wa laqad dara?nā (lijahannama katīran mina al-jinni  
wa al-ʔins/  
'And most certainly have we destined for hell many  
of the invisible beings' (1)
- d) /wa qalīlun mina al-ʔāxirīn/  
'but (only) a few of later times' (2)
- e) /ʔinda s̄aʔiri al-ʔumam/  
'at (most of the nations'  
(few
- f) /muʔDamu h̄aʔulāʔi al-rijālī.../  
'most of these men...'
- g) /wa lakinna ʔaktara al-nāsi lā yaskrūn/  
'but most people are ungrateful' (3)
- h) /liʔadadin kabīrin mina al-ʔaʔfāl/  
'to a great number of the children'
- i) /wa tarā T̄aʔifatan mina al-nuqqād/  
'and you will see a group of critics'
- j) /j̄aʔa talātātun mina al-rijāl/  
'three (only) of the men came'
- k) /Subratun mina al-Taʔām/  
'a heap of food'
- l) /tullatun mina al-nās/  
'a group of people'

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.231, verse 179.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.830, verse 14.

(3) Asad, ibid., p.54, verse 243.

- m) /ʿiddatu masājid/
- 'a number of mosques'
- n) /faʿāmanat Tāʾifatun min banī ʾisrāʾīla wa kafarat Tāʾifah/
- 'and so (it happened that) some of the children of Israel came to believe (in the apostleship of Jesus), whereas others denied the truth' <sup>(1)</sup>
- o) /xuḍ ʾarbaʿatan mina al-ḍarāḥim/
- 'Take four of dirhams'

As the underlined elements show, the relationship obtaining between the quantifier and the following quantified noun is a relation of the part from the total (juzʾun min kull). So, the structure is marked off explicitly by the partitive particle /min/ as in (c), (d), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l), (n) and (o), or implicitly as in (a), (b), (e), (f), (g) and (m).

This relation, however, is based on two semantic facts:

(1) If we omit the quantifier (and its partitive particle) from the surface structure, the head noun will be confined to total interpretation e.g. compare:

- a) /wa zaʿama baʿḍu ʾahli al-kitāb/
- 'and some people of the book claimed that...'
- b) /wa zaʿama ʾahlu al-kitāb/
- 'and the people of the book claimed that...'

(2) The omission of the head noun - without contextual conditioning - will produce a semantically and structurally

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.862, verse 14.



unacceptable structure since the structure of partitive relation has lost the central member of the NP e.g. compare

a) jāʔa jamāʔatun mina al-nās/

'a group of people came'

b) /jāʔa jamāʔatun mina\*/

'a group of came'

The point being made here is that the distinction of partitive relation in nominal phrases, which typically involve partitive quantifiers, is carried out by two elements: partitive quantifier and partitioned noun, or rather partitive quantifier and quantified noun, as the above examples illustrate, and as in ṣaribtu baʔDa al-māʔ 'I drank some water'. So, the above underlined elements which represent types of partitive relation bear evidence to this fact.

With the description so far, the term 'partitive quantifier' in this sense is a cover term for any member of the set of items to which the above semantic features are appropriately assigned. Note that the quantifier baʔD 'some' may be used to indicate the numerical one e.g. /wa ʔid ʔasarra al-nabiyyu ʔilā baʔDi ʔazwājihi ḥadītan.../ 'and lo! (it so happened that) the prophet told something in confidence to one of his wives' (1)

In this section, we have tried to keep to a brief illustration - as representative - of the semantic features

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.875, verse 3.

of partitive quantifiers more or less as expounded by Chafe in English. In the following section the object is to demonstrate the semantic features of "limitary function" by imposing quantifiers.

(C) The limitary function

In the previous two sections, we have examined semantically the total and partitive quantifiers, we have further examined their sub-semantic functions. The examination was meant to show various meanings of total quantifier, and to differentiate between an intensifying quantifier whose sub-semantic class is 'amplifier' and that whose sub-semantic class is 'emphasizer'. As to partitive, the examination involved narrowing and genitive meanings. Here we will consider one more and last division of quantifiers as seen by 'limiting adverbs'. In other words, if we go down on the quantity scale we can discern in the adverbial phrases - combined with a head noun - below two features. These are imposing quantity and limiting function. The latter fall subsemantically into two functions:

- a) Exclusives
- b) Particularizers

This may be more or less reflected in the following quotation from Quirk,

"Limiters:

(a) Exclusives restrict what is said to the part focused e.g.: alone, just, merely, only, purely, simply

(b) particularizers restrict what is said particularly or mainly to the part focused e.g.: chiefly, especially, mainly, mostly, in particular  
Additives:  
also, either, even, neither, nor, too, as well as, in addition"(1)

The following set of examples illustrate the three types of what are labelled "limiters".

- a) /jāʔa zaydun munfaridan/ (exclusive)  
'Zayd came alone'
- b) /qātilu al-musrikīna xāSSah/ (particularizer)  
'fight the polytheist in particular'
- c) /... ʔalā zaydin ʔayDā/ (additive)  
'...on Zayd also'

In this way words like faqat 'only', wahdahu 'alone', tamāman 'exactly', ʔayDan, 'also', ʔalā ḥidatin 'alone', 'separately', xuSūSan 'especially', maʔan 'together', kāffatan qāTibatan 'all together', 'collectively' etc. can be post-posed to the head noun to account for a quantitative relationship where each one might reflect, regardless of their function in other positions which goes beyond the scope of the present study. However, the post-posed adverb here is distinguishable in terms of its function in a way that it imposes quantity and is of limiting function, i.e. an adverb like faqat 'only' in taSaddaqa bidirhamayni faqat 'he gave as a charity two dirhams only', is of imposed quantity functioning as a limiter. Hence it performs the quantifier-role; taking

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(1) Quirk et al., op.cit., p.211.

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into account its limiting function, which has a quantitative implication in a nominal phrase.

Other words to be discussed in this connection are the words fahasbu 'only, enough', lāgayru, laysa gayru 'nothing else, only', which occur in a postnominal position, and hatta 'even' which occurs in a prenominal position. These are limiters.

It is worth mentioning that, contrary to the situation with the previous quantifiers, the limiters have a quantitative force upon the head noun, and indicate that what is being modified is limited; although these limiters are adverbial by nature as in the first set and by combination as in the second set. Again these elements are adverbs in that:

- a) They are adjuncts restricting what is said before in a given structure.
- b) They can be used to define the process denoted by the verb.

In this way, the user of CA may select one of the above words to express a limiting function in an NP.

Consider:

- a) /qara?tu talātata kutubin (faqaT /  
(fahasbu  
'I read three books only'
- b) /ʔindī dirhamun (lāgayru /  
(laysa gayru  
'I have one dirham only'

- c) /jāʔa al-nāsu kāffah/  
'people came all together'
- d) /ʔaʕrifu kutuban hasba al-qāriʔ/  
'I know books which are enough to satisfy the reader'
- e) /wa daʕā al-ʔajāniba ʔayDā/  
'and he invited the foreigners also'
- f) /ʔaqbala al-sayxāni maʕā/  
'The two sheikhs came together'
- g) /māta al-nāsu hattā al-ʔanbiyāʔ/  
'Men have died even the prophets'
- h) /jāʔa al-Dayfu waḥdah/  
'The guest came alone'

In the above examples, limiters as semantic features are representing the quantitative relation holding between the quantified noun and the quantifying limiter. For this point, we gave examples of 'postnominal' and 'prenominal' limiters. However, the last point to be made is that limiters have grammatical features which distinguish them from the other quantifiers. That is to say, all limiters have the following distinctive characteristics in common:

- a) They occur in a fixed case ending.
- b) Their class is adverbial.
- c) Their position in most cases is following the quantified noun.
- d) They are unmarked forms with regard to gender and number concord, *except waḥdah*

These distinctive features contrast limiters with other quantifiers (i.e. pure quantifiers). Thus limiters

are different from their counterparts. Compare the following two examples where (a) represents the quantitative relation by a limiter and (b) represents the quantitative relation by a quantifier.

- a) /yadkuru al-ṣuyūba faqaT/  
'He mentions the defects only'
- b) /yadkuru al-ṣuyūba kullaha/  
'He mentions the defects, all of them'

As the above pair of examples show, in (a) the underlined element functions within a nominal phrase as a limiter which carries a quantifying force and which is in an unmarked form, i.e. no concord is realized, whereas in (b) the underlined element is a quantifier which quantifies by nature and which is suffixed by an appropriate pronoun for concord.

(vi) The syntactic structure

The previous section was concerned with the semantic functions of quantifiers in nominal phrases. It set out to demonstrate the relationship of two terms: quantified noun and quantifier. This section is devoted to the structure of modification, i.e. head and modifier, with special reference to their accompanying syntactic features. The description will deal with three types of syntactic structure:

(1) Syntactic types of total quantifiers

It is perhaps worth mentioning that although the features given in the previous section are applied to total quantifier, there may be other syntactic characteristics

which ascertain in total quantifiers. That is to say, total quantifiers play their structural role as modifiers in nominal phrases e.g.

/wa kāna al-nāsu kulluhum limaʔn/

'and the people were following Maʔn, all of them'

To the elements al-nāsu kulluhum 'the people, all of them', we can give the structural terms head to al-nāsu 'the people', and modifier to kulluhum 'all of them'. This is based on syntactic considerations which assign each function; the term "head" is given to the independent element and the term "modifier" is given to the dependent element where the former can stand syntactically as a free form, but not the latter. So we can say:

/wa kāna al-nāsu limaʔn/

'and people were following Maʔn'

but not

/wa kāna kulluhum limaʔn/

The same syntactic consideration holds true to the structure of modifier + head noun in total types regardless of kull which may occur as a modifier to an implied head.

Considering the previous analysis of the structure of modification, we notice that the nominal phrase has two elements of structure: one is obligatory and the other is optional. Again the former is the head and the latter is the modifier. The syntactic value of this is that the quantifier with the quantified noun will be confined to "modification". At this point, it is necessary for both grammatical and semantic reasons to divide total quantifiers into two groups:

- (1) Numerical quantifiers
- (2) Non-numerical quantifiers

Numerical quantifiers are the numbers 3-10 and 13-19 plus a pronominal suffix, zawj 'pair', Diṣf 'double', kilā and kiltā 'both'.

Non-numerical quantifiers are the elements: kull, jamīṣ, Ṣammah... etc.

To demonstrate this, two examples are given below as representatives to show that total quantifiers fall into two divisions. Consider:

- (1) /marartu bial-ʔaṣḍiqāʔi ṭalātatihi/ (numerical)  
'I passed by the friends, all three of them'
- (2) /qabaḌtu al-māla jamīṣahu/ (non-numerical)  
'I received (the) money, all of it'

The nominal phrases of the types illustrated in (1) and (2) include quantifiers that are numerical, as in (1) and that are non-numerical, as in (2). The structure-forming elements - quantified noun - quantifier-head-modifier, are all related to the structural configuration of expressing 'modification'. However, the labels numerical<sup>(1)</sup> and non-numerical which are given to total quantifiers describe their role in the meanings the user wants to convey, i.e. specific and non-specific quantities

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(1) Footnote: The reason we deal with these types of numerical here and not in numerals below is that although they have specific interpretation they refer to quantity rather than numeration i.e. they apply to quantity which has significance to totality except cardinals which will be dealt with in numerals for considerable and methodological reasons.



respectively. These structure-forming elements are identified syntactically as follows:

- 1) Noun + quantifying numeral + pronoun
- 2) Noun + quantifier + pronoun

In this way, we will deal with structures representing nominal phrases which consist of head and numerical quantifier, and of head with non-numerical quantifier, considering the variety of occurrences which it is possible for each quantifier to appear in, and the function which resembles total quantifiers grammatically and semantically. To illustrate further, the following three sets of examples may express this:

Set I

- a) /jāʔa al-qawmu xamsata ʔasarahum/  
'The people came, fifteen of them'
- b) /ʔaʔTawhu Diʔfa al-ʔaman/  
'They gave him double the price'
- c) /ʔindī zawju niʔā/  
'I have a pair of shoes'

Set II

- a) /raʔaytu kilā al-rajulayn/  
'I saw both of the men'
- b) /raʔaytu al-rajulayni kilayhimā/  
'I saw the two men, both of them'
- c) /... kullu wāḥidin min al-jinsayn/  
'each one of the two kinds'

Set III

- a) /kabata allāhu kulla ʔaduwwin lak/  
'God put down each enemy of you'

- b) /nam fa al-maxāwifu kulluhunna ʔamānu/  
 'be secure because the fears are away, all of them'
- c) /Maḥammadun rasūlu allāhi ʔilā al-nāsi kāffah/  
 'the prophet Mohammad is the messenger of God to all human beings'
- d) /saribna kulla al-māʔ/  
 'they (f.) drank all the water available'
- e) /...gāyatu al-turābi kullih/  
 'the end of the soil, all of it'

In the above three sets of examples, three types of nominal phrases can be recognized in terms of the combination of the quantified head and quantifying modifier. All these examples are selected with particular regard to the semantic and grammatical relations between the two terms involved. In sets (I) and (II) the quantifiers have some features in common. They denote total quantity and occur only with count nouns. These types of quantifiers also are regarded as 'numerical quantifiers'. Still, however, in set (I) the quantifier cannot be said to have the same sense as the one occurring in set (II) since in (II) the meaning referred to by the quantifier again is inclusive/distributive. Furthermore, in set (I) the quantifier differs from that of set (II) in that it acts as postmodifier in 1(a) and premodifier in 1(b) and (c); according to the quantifier involved. While in set (II) the quantifier serves equally as premodifier and postmodifier in 2(a) and (b) respectively, and premodifier as in 2(c). The total quantifier in set (III) is non-numerical and

occurs with count nouns as in 3(a), (b) and (c), and with non-count nouns as in 3(d) and (e). The quantifier here functions as premodifier and postmodifier equally, except in 3(c) the quantifier functions often as postmodifier.

Note that in set (II), the structure of nominal phrase should satisfy the following two points:

- (1) The head noun and the quantifier must be in dual forms whatever their structural configuration is, as illustrated above.
- (2) If the quantifier is not in dual form it must be followed by the numerical *wāḥid* 'one' and the prepositional particle *min* 'of'.

Keeping this description in mind, and according to the use of total quantifiers we notice that they behave below differently in respect of:

- 1) combination with a singular abstract head noun
- 2) occurrence with an indefinite singular head.

Examples:

- 1a) /wa lanaqqayta qalbaka min kulli ḥafīḏah/  
'and you would clean your heart from every grudge'  
but not  
/wa lanaqqayta qalbaka min (jamiʿi\*) ḥafīḏah/  
(ṣammati)
- 1b) /wa lakinna muṣʿabān qaḍ ṣabara lil-ṣarri kullih/  
'and but Muṣʿab has been patient with the evil,  
all of it'  
but not

/wa lakinna muSΣaban qad Sabara lil-sarri (jamiΣih\*)  
(Σammatih)

- 2) /wa waDaΣa kulla faSSin mawDiΣah/  
'and he puts every stone in its place'  
but not  
/wa waDΣa (jamiΣa\*) faSSin mawDiΣah/  
(Σammata)

The above examples suggest that the quantifier collocates semantically with a certain head noun, which is significantly designated. Looking for evidence as to how far this assumption stands, we investigate the association of total quantifiers with definite and indefinite singular common nouns. We find that the quantifier has the following occurrences:

- (1) kull occurs with a head noun which may or may not be divisible into separate objects.
- (2) jamiΣ and Σammah occur with divisible head noun, i.e. the head noun has plural form or meaning.

Note that the totality given by the association of a total quantifier and head noun can be changed to partitive relation; by having negation. Thus, if we negate the example marked (2) we will have partitive relation, though the quantifier is kull 'all' e.g. wa lam yaDaΣ kulla faSSin mawDiΣah 'and he did not put every stone in its place'. This is based on the interpretation of the structure which includes a negative and quantifier; the meaning will

be partitive.<sup>(1)</sup> Therefore, we would say that the association of the negative particle and the quantifier entails negating the actual meaning of the quantifier, hence the partitive meaning is produced.

To summarize, all non-numerical quantifiers occur with plural and collective head nouns. With singular common nouns, the quantifier which often occurs is *kull*.

However, it has already been mentioned that the value of the linguistic expression in the above examples is made of a sequence of two terms: quantified head + quantifying modifier or quantifying modifier + quantified head. This analysis is based on an obligatory element (i.e. the head) and optional element (i.e. the modifier). For more illustrations, consider:

- a)       <sup>M</sup>       <sup>H</sup>  
 /fī kulli marrah/  
 'in every time'
- b)       <sup>H</sup>       <sup>M</sup>  
 /wa al-ʔarDu jamīʔan/  
 'as the whole of earth'<sup>(2)</sup>
- c)       <sup>H</sup>       <sup>M</sup>  
 /wa alladī xalaqa al-zwāja kullahā/  
 'and He it is who has created all opposites'<sup>(3)</sup>

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- (1) See Baltin, M., Quantifier-Negative Introduction, Studies in Language Variation, Georgetown University Press, Washington, 1977, p.30. See also Ibn Hiṣām, J., Mugni al-labib ʔan kutubi al-ʔaʔarib, edited by al-mubarak, M. et al., Daru al-fikr press, Part I, 1969, pp.220-21.
- (2) Asad, op.cit., p.715, verse 67.
- (3) Asad, op.cit., p.750, verse 12.



- (1) They are a realization of various combinations of modificatory choices.
- (2) They have two elements of structure, i.e. head and modifier; the former is syntactically independent and obligatory, the latter is dependent and optional.
- (3) They are typically represented by a quantified and quantifier which in certain structures is marked by the prepositional particle *min* 'of' directly following it; if the head noun is two coordinated elements, as in (j) above, given the property of distribution.

To finish off our discussion of total quantifying modifiers in nominal phrases, we give tables of the types of the nominal phrase described in this section with their accompanying syntactic features.

	Premodification	Postmodification
Ex.	<p><sup>A</sup>  <u>fahāraSa kullu muslimin...</u>/  'and each Muslim was intent...'</p> <p>St.            premodifier + head</p> <p>Classes        quantifier + noun</p> <p>State of def.   indef.   NP</p> <p>Trans.          non-transposable</p>	<p><sup>B</sup>  */<u>fahāraSa muslimun kulluhu</u></p>
Ex.	<p><u>/wa kilā al-ʔamrayni...</u>/  'and both of the two things</p> <p>St.            premodifier + head</p> <p>Classes        quantifier + noun</p> <p>State of def.   def.   NP</p> <p>Trans.          transposable</p>	<p><u>/wa al-ʔamrāni kilāhumā</u>  'and the two things, both of them'</p> <p>head + modifier</p> <p>noun + quantifier + pro.</p> <p>def. NP</p> <p>transposed</p>

... Continued ...



	Premodification	Postmodification
Ex.	/intaDartuka kulla al-yawm/	/intaDartuka al-yawma kullah/
St.	'I waited for you the whole day'	'I waited for you the whole day'
Classes	premodifier + head	head + modifier
State of def.	quantifier + noun	noun + quantifier + pro.
Trans.	def. NP	def. NP
	transposable	transposed
Ex.	/tawāfarat (jamiʿu al-ʔadawāt/ (ʿammatu	/tawāfarat al-ʔadawātu (jamiʿuhā / (ʿammatuḥā
St.	'all the tools are fulfilled'	'the tools are fulfilled, all of them'
Classes	premodifier + head	head + modifier
State of def.	quantifier + noun	noun + quantifier and pro.
Trans.	def. NP	def. NP
	transposable	transposed
Ex.	/... maṣḍaran li kulli al-sultān/	/... maṣḍaran lil-sultāni kullih/
	'a source for the whole power'	'a source for the power, all of it'
	but not	
	*/... li jamiʿi al-sultān/ li ʿammatal-sultān	*/...lil-sultāni (jamiʿih (ʿammatih

... continued ...

	Premodification	Postmodification
Ex.	*ja?a bi?asri(him) al-qawm/	/jā?a al-qawm bi?asrihm <sup>aa</sup>
St.		head + modifier
Classes		noun + prep. + quant. + pro.
State of def.		def. NP
Trans.		non-transposed
Ex.	*/fi jamā?i Sulūmi al-riyāDah/	/fi Sulūmī al-riyāDati jamā?/
St.		'in all sciences of mathematics'
Classes		head + modifier
State of def.		Noun + quantifier
Trans.		def. NP
		Non-transposed
Ex.	/hādihi paŷānu darāhimik/	/hādihi darāhimuka (paŷānuhā (bi?asrihā
St.		'these are your dirhams themselves'
Classes		premodifier + head
State of def.		quantifier + noun
Trans.		def. NP
		transposable

... continued...

	Premodification	Postmodification
Ex.	/jaʔa kullu al-nās/ 'all people came'	/jāʔa al-nāsu kulluhum ʔajmaʕūn 'the people came, all of them'
St.	premodifier + head	head + modifier + modifier
Classes	quantifier + noun	noun + quant. + pro. + quant.
State of def.	def. NP	def. NP
Trans.	transposable	transposed + non-transposed

(ii) Syntactic features of partitive quantifiers

Partitive quantifiers will be dealt with as premodifier in respect of:

- (1) Their position in relation to the head noun.
- (2) The noun with which they can combine
- (3) The word classes to which they belong.
- (4) The concordial relation between the quantified head and quantifying modifier.
- (5) The transposability of the sequence of the two terms involved.

These are the five principles with which the structure of modification is made.

Reference will be made to the occurrence of transposition in certain types of structure.

(i) In the majority of occurrences partitive quantifiers occur in prenominal position, except the quantifier baʕD which can be transposed for semantic reasons. As was mentioned above, in a few cases the quantifier can precede or follow the quantified head with almost no semantic distinction. The difference between these two structural configurations lies in the fact that a head with a preceding quantifier is always in the genitive case, and with a following has an appropriate case to its syntactic function.

The following examples will serve as representatives to illustrate the behaviour of partitive quantifiers within nominal phrases.

A) prenominal quantifying modifiers

- 1) /ʔalā sāʔiri al-kawākib/  
'on the rest of the stars'
- 2) /Tāʔifatun mina al-ʔalfāḍ/  
'number of words'
- 3) /fī biḌʔati ʔayyām/  
'in a few days'
- 4) /maDā biḌʔun mina al-layl/  
'part of the night has gone'
- 5) /jāʔa fī (muḌḌami al-rijāl /  
(ʔuḌmi  
'he came with most of the men'
- 6) /fakawwama kawmatan mina al-ḥasā/  
'and piled up a heap of pebbles'
- 7) /marra ʔalā Subrati Taʔām/  
'he passed by a heap of food'
- 8) /tullatun mina al-nās/  
'a group of people'
- 9) /ʔalā baʔḌi al-ʔaʔjamīn/  
'on high over any of the non-Arabs' (1)
- 10) /lā yablughā katīrun min al-nās/  
'many people (i.e. many of the people) cannot reach it'
- 11) /fī ʔaktari al-ʔahyan/  
'in most times'

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.573, verse 198.

- 12) /al-qillatu al-malhūDatu fī Σadadi al-Σulama?  
 'the noticeable minority in the number of the scholars'
- 13) /hādā raffun mina al-Da?n/  
 'this is a group of sheep'

B) Quantifying modifiers of pre- and postnominal

- 1a) /fa?inna lahu Σiddata ?alfaDin tadullu Σalayh/  
 'and that this meaning has a number of words which refer to it'
- 1b) /fa?inn lahu ?alfaDin Σiddatan tadullu Σalayh/  
 'and that this meaning has several words which refer to it'
- 2a) /... Σadada sinin  
 'a number of years'
- 2b) /... sinina Σadada/  
 '... a number of years'
- 3a) /jā?a talātātun mina al-rijāl/  
 'three of the men came'
- 3b) /jā?a mina al-rijāli talātah/  
 'three of the men came'

(ii) The noun classes with which partitive quantifiers co-occur are: singular count like kitāb 'a book', its plural count kutub 'books' and non-count nouns such as mā? 'water'.

In discussing the use of partitive quantifiers which precede or follow one of these classes, we will make use of the distinction between closed and open quantifiers as

they are put forward in English by Quirk.<sup>(1)</sup> We can thus set up two groups under the closed system and one under the open system; relying on the accommodation of the head noun with the associated quantifier.

Thus:

(1) Closed system

- a) Items like biDΣ 'a few, some' tullah 'a few, a group' Σiddah 'number, several', nafar, Tāʔifah, zumrah, ΣuSbah, riff 'troup, group, band', co-occur with collective and plural count nouns.

e.g. (biDΣatu) ʔashur  
(Σiddatu)

some ) months  
number of)

/nafarun mina al-jinn/ (2)

'some of the unseen beings'

Note that the word Tāʔifatun is usually used now with class of nouns known as 'occupational' nouns, and class of nouns known as religious nouns.

- b) hafnah 'a handful', Subrah 'a heap', kum 'pile', 'a heap', habrah 'a piece', a slice of', co-occur with mass nouns e.g.

ʔaΣTaytuhu habratan min lahm

'I gave him a piece of meat'

hafnatun min turāb

'a handful of soil'

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(1) Quirk et al., op.cit., pp.66-67.

(2) Asad, op.cit., p.899, verse 1.

(2) Open system

- a) Items like baΣD 'some', muΣDam, jullu, ?aglab, ?aktar 'most of', katīrun min 'many, a lot of', qalīlun min 'a few of, a little' etc., co-occur with count/non-count nouns (be they singular or plural) e.g.

wa qad ḥadā ḥadwahu fī { muΣDami  
?aktari  
?aglabi  
julli  
katīrin min  
qalīlin min  
baΣDi } ?arā?ih

'and he follows him in { most  
many  
a few  
some } of his ideas'

tumma ?akala { baΣDa  
muΣDama  
?aglabi  
julla  
?akātara  
katīran min  
qalīlan min } al-TaΣām

'then he ate { some  
most  
a lot  
a little } of the food'

- (3) The word classes to which the partitive quantifiers belong, as was illustrated above, are nouns, adjectives and numerals. The nouns include baΣD, tullah, muΣDam, ?aglab, biDΣ, Σiddah, Subrah, kūm, hafnah, Tā?ifah, zumrah, ΣuSbah, raff, nafar and habrah. The adjectives are katīr and qalīl. The numerals are Σadaḍ and talātātun min, on the grounds which were mentioned under quantifier classes (see pp. 214 - 219).



(4) The concordial relation may be seen when the modifying quantifier follows the quantifier head. Otherwise there is no concord seen in a construction consisting of a partitive quantifier + head, as illustrated above.

(5) As has been stated above (see pp. 209 and 260 - 263) nominal phrases of quantifiers as a whole may be definite or indefinite, the same is applied to partitive.

(6) The transposability is confined to certain quantifiers such as baΣD e.g.

jā?a baΣDu al-Σulamā?

'some (of the) scholars came'

jā?a al-Σulamā?u baΣDuhum

'the scholars came, some of them'

What concerns us in this connection is that partitive quantifiers whose class is adjective and in postmodification with indefinite or definite head noun tolerate functionally two interpretations, i.e. the element (katīrā in (lā tadΣū al-yawma tubūran wāḥidan wa udΣū tubūran katīrā) '(But they will be told) pray not today for one single extinction, but pray for many extinctions,'<sup>(1)</sup> can be interpreted as quantifying modifier and simultaneously as attributive modifier. The same is true for the element al-katīr in wa ?innamā ?ūtīru ?an ?unfiqa hādā al-mala al-katīr 'and verily I would prefer to spend this large sum of money'. The situation is different with those

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.551, verse 14.

of other classes where the function is fairly quantification.

(iii) Degree intensifiers

Parallel to partitive quantifiers, the following items are recognized semantically as similar to degree intensifiers. They can modify countable noun, adverb and adjective in questionnaire and exclamatory structures. In questionnaire structures, the head noun is often in the accusative case,<sup>(1)</sup> whereas in exclamatory structure the head noun is in the genitive case.<sup>(1)</sup> The syntactic effect of this is that the former marks the questionnaire structure and the latter marks the exclamatory.

However, the elements of interrogative and assertory type, as illustrated above, are: kam 'how much?!', kaʔayyin 'how many?!' and kaḍa 'so much or many'. These elements are invariable in form. Also they precede the head noun in question as modifying elements. Arab grammarians have described these elements under the label: kināyātu al-ʿadad<sup>(2)</sup> 'the metonyms of number'.

There are designated two functions for 'degree intensifiers' which we adopt here more or less in accordance with Quirk's description in English:

- 
- (1) Footnote: If kam in questionnaire structure is prefixed by the prepositional particle /bi/ the head noun will be in the genitive case. On the other hand, with kaʔayyin in exclamatory structure, the head noun in a few cases appears in the accusative case.
- (2) See Kenawi, M., et al., sarḥu ibni ʿaqil, part II, Al-Azhar University Press, Cairo (1973), pp.283-285. See also Wright, op.cit., vol. II, pp.125-126.

"So and interrogative and exclamatory how also precede the indefinite article, but they require the noun phrase to contain a gradable adjective and the head of the noun phrase to be a singular countable noun." (1)

since the situation in English is similar to that in Arabic as regards degree. Furthermore, they act as premodifiers in a designated NP i.e. the nominal phrase in which they occur is sequentially marked as follows:

- (1) kam + min + countable singular or plural item  
but more frequently without min.
- (2) kaʔayyin + min + countable singular item but more  
usually with min.
- (3) kaḍā + countable singular or plural item.

Their structural functions, however, are syntactically assigned since they cannot stand as free forms. Thus they have the following functions:

(A) kam and kaʔayyin have interrogative function as premodificatory quantifiers in a questionnaire structure, i.e. the question is made about the quantity of the accusative head noun which can be singular or plural with kam and singular with kaʔayyin, as was mentioned above.

- 1) /kam rajulan ʔaḡānak?/

'how many a man have helped you'

- 2) kaʔayyin taqraʔu sūrata al-ʔahzābi ʔāyatan?/

'how many verses do you consider the "Sūrah of the confederates" to be'

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(1) Quirk et al., op.cit., p.128. See also Wright, vol. II, pp.125-126.

- 3) bi kam dīnārīn istarayt?  
'for how many a dīnār have you bought?'
- 4) kam suhūdan lak?  
'how many witnesses do you have?'

(B) kam, kaʔayyin and kaḏā have 'exclamatory' function as premodifiers provided that kam is followed by a singular or a broken plural in genitive case to reflect multal quantity, as in kam rajulin zārak '(how) many a man visited you!' and kam rijālīn zārūk '(how) many men visited you!' respectively, kaʔayyin is followed by singular head noun in genitive case to give also multal quantity to the head, as in wa kaʔayyin min ʔasan 'many a grief', 'how many a grief!' and kaḏā is followed by singular in accusative case or broken plural in genitive to indicate multal or paucal quantity, as in maʔī kaḏā dirhamā 'I have so many dirhams' and maʔī kaḏā dārāhim 'I have so many dirhams' respectively. kaḏā, however, differs from its counterparts the degree intensifiers in that it can be repeated with or without coordinator as in maʔī kaḏā wa kaḏā dirhamā 'I have so and so many dirhams' and maʔī kaḏa kaḏā dirhamā 'I have so (and) so many dirhams.'

As to gender/number agreement, elements of degree show neither gender nor number concord with the head noun; they are morphologically of uniform and unvaried throughout their representation in any given structure.

To further illustrate degree intensifiers, consider the examples below.

- 1a) /kam xālatin lak/  
'how many (or many) aunts you have!'
- 1b) /kam rijālin jā?ūk/  
'how many) men came to you!'  
many )
- 1c) /wa kam ?ahlaknā mina al-qurūni.../  
'and how many a generation have we (thus) destroyed' (1)
- 1d) /wa kam min qaryatin ?ahlaknāhā/  
'And how many a (rebellious) community have we  
destroyed' (2)
- 2a) /ka?ayyin rajulan ra?ayt/  
'many a man (or how many a man) have I seen!' (3)
- 2b) /wa ka?ayyin min ?ayatin fī al-samawāti wa al-?arDi/  
'But (then) - how many a sign is there in the heavens  
and on earth...' (4)
- 3a) /lahu ṣalayya kadā dirham-an/  
'I owe him so many dirhams'
- 3b) /istara al-ṣayxu kadā wa kadā jubbat-an/  
'The sheikh bought so and so many garments'
- 3c) /qāla mina al-ṣiṣri kadā kadā bayt-an/  
'He made so (and) so many verses of poetry'
- 3d) /maṣī kadā danānīr-an/  
'I have so many dinārs'

Note that the degree intensifiers ka?ayyin and kadā have one thing in common that they occur only with an indefinite head noun.

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- (1) Asad, op.cit., p.421, verse 17.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.203, verse 4.  
(3) Wright, op.cit., vol. II, p.126.  
(4) Asad, ibid., p.353, verse 105.

To summarize the syntactic features of degree intensifiers, although we have touched upon some features under syntactic classification above, we give the following characteristics:

- a) They precede an indefinite countable head noun; except kam which may precede definite noun provided that kam is followed by the pre-positional particle min as in 1(c) above.
- b) They are a class of premodifiers.
- c) They are non-transposable modifiers.
- d) They are syntactically dependent elements.
- e) They do not show gender/number concord.
- f) kam and ka?ayyin can be used to represent interrogative or exclamatory function in contrast with kada which is used to denote exclamatory function.
- g) Meaning, they represent degree intensifiers which denote multal or paucal quantity according to the quantifier involved. Further they refer to non-specific quantity.
- h) Morphologically, they can be viewed as masculine.

Finally, to represent our discussion of partitive and degree quantifiers illustrated in the above two sections, we give in a brief table that designate the features as realized in the examples.

Premodification		Postmodification
A		B
Ex.	/baʕDu al-ʔasribati	al-ʔasribatu baʕDuhā
	'some of the drinks'	'the drinks, some of them'
St.	premodifier + head	head + postmodifier
Classes	quantifier + noun	noun + quantifier + pro
State of def. NP		def. NP
def.		
Trans.	transposable	transposed
Ex.	/kawkabatun mina	-
	al-ʕulamāʔ/	
	'a group of scholars'	
St.	premodifier + head	
Classes	quantifier + min + noun	
State of def. NP		
def.		
Trans.	non-transposable	
Ex.	/labittu baʕDa	/labittu yawman baʕDah/
	yawmin	
	'I remained part of a day'	'I remained a day, part of it'
St.	premodifier + head	head + postmodifier
Classes	quant. + adverb	adv. + quant. + pro.
State of indef. NP		def. NP
def.		
Trans.	transposable	transposed

	Premodification	Postmodification
Ex.	/kam <u>dīnārin</u> ?anfaqt/ 'how many) a dinar have many ) you spent	-
St.	premodifier + head	
Classes	quantifier + noun	
State of	indef. NP	
def.		
Trans.	non-transposable	
Ex.	/kam <u>imra?atin</u> jā?atk/ 'how many) a woman have many ) you received'	-
St.	premodifier + head	
Classes	quant. + noun	
State of	indef. NP	
def.		
Trans.	non-transposable	
Ex.	/wa kam ?ahlaknā <u>min</u> <u>qaryatin...</u> / 'and how many a community... have we destroyed' (1)	-
St.	premodifier + head	
Classes	quant. + min + noun	
State of	indef. NP	
def.		
Trans.	non-transposable	

(1) Asad, ibid., p.599, verse 58.



	Premodification	Postmodification
Ex.	/wa <u>kayyin</u> <u>min</u> <u>nabiyyin</u> / qātala maʿahu ribbiyyūna katīr/ 'and how many a prophet (is there), with whom many myriads have fought' (1)	-
St.	premodifier + head	
Classes	quant. + min + noun	
State of indef. NP		
def.		
Trans.	non-transposable	
Ex.	/malaktu { <u>kaḍā</u> <u>kaḍā kaḍā</u> <u>kaḍā wa kaḍā</u> } baytā -	
	'I possess (so many ) (so and so many) houses'	
St.	premodifier + head	
Classes	quantifier(s) + noun	
State of indef. NP		
def.		
Trans.	non-transposable	
vii) <u>The syntactic characteristics of the quantifiers</u>		
We have seen that semantic functions differ under the general label of quantification, in such a way that the function depends upon the kind of relation holding between the two components - quantified head and quantifying		

(1) Wright, op.cit., vol. II, p.127.

modifier. We have also seen that the modification of the syntactic structure is based on the two terms - modified noun and modifying element - in which the latter is dependent. Furthermore, the quantifiers are assumed to have the following characteristics:

- (i) Some of them may occur in the attributive position.
- (ii) Some of them may have the usual features of adjectives:-
  - a) Some can take comparative and superlative forms
  - b) Some can be modified by the adverb jāddan 'very'
  - c) Some can occur in the predicative position.

According to these linguistic characteristics, structures containing quantifying items contrasting quantifying and non-quantifying function:-

- a) /al-kutubu kullu + hā/ quantifying modifier  
'the books, all of them'
- b) /...al-ʿālimu kullu al-ʿālim/ attributive modifier  
'he is a thorough scholar'
- a) /al-Tayru ʔaktaru + ha/ quantifying modifier  
'the birds, most of them'
- b) /bi qīmatin ʔaktar/ comparative modifier  
'for more price than it was'
- c) /bi al-makāni al-ʔaktari haSan superlative modifier  
'in the place of most pebbles than the others'
- a) /wa magānima katīratan.../ quantifying modifier  
'and (of) many war-gains...' (1)
- b) /al-magānima katīrah/ predicative modifier  
'the prophets are abundant'

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.788, verse 19.

The examples given above reflect different syntactic characteristics of quantifiers which assign them to occur as a sub-class of "modifiers". It is of interest to note that the underlined elements are modifiers whose syntactic role is that of quantifying modifier as in (a), of attributive as in first (b), of comparative as in second (b), of superlative as in (c), whereas the exponent of the quantifier (i.e. *katīr*) is predicative as in third (b) (last one).

#### Summary

- 1) Quantifiers are of four morphological classes: noun, adjective, numeral and particle/adverb.
- 2) They have syntactic structure marking function:
  - a) the position of the two exponents marks off the syntactic structure of the NP (i.e. head and modifier);
  - b) in the transposed structure the *Damīru al-ʔāʔid* - 'returning pronoun' - serves as a substitute in head-position;
  - c) in structures involving more than one quantifier the respective ordering of these is fixed according to their class.
- 3) Quantifiers are more dependent than adjectives syntactically, since they depend on the combination with the head noun, and cannot stand as free forms, with minor exceptions.

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- 4) There are four syntactic classes: premodifier, postmodifier, variable and invariable modifier:
    - a) the largest class is premodifiers
    - b) postmodifiers have some connotation of focus.
  - 5) Some quantifiers are transposable and others are not. As illustrated above, transposition to post-posed position implies focus.
  - 6) Quantifiers function in different semantic categories. They contrast with each other within a common semantic area.
  - 7) Certain adverbs have quantifying force: such as *faqat* - 'only', and *hattā* - 'even'.
  - 8) The essential characteristics of quantifying structure:-
    - a) the grammatical categories of gender and number operate across members of both elements of the structure standing in identical relation to each other;
    - b) morphological gender/number concord does not occur when the quantifier precedes its head; however, it may occur when the quantifier follows.
  - 9) The particle-quantifiers have no concordial relations whatsoever with the head noun.
  - 10) The transposed structure as a syntactic term comprises "tawkīd" intensive structure - and "badal" appositional structure - as used by the Arab grammarians, which are semantic/syntactic terms.

## CHAPTER V

### ADJECTIVES

#### Introduction

This chapter will be devoted to describing adjectives in nominal phrases as within the general construction of modification, and having nouns as head. The adjectival modifiers will be brought into nominal phrases in four classes:

- (i) adjective (be it positive, comparative, superlative)
- (ii) common noun
- (iii) relative adjective
- (iv) participle

The main reason for treating these classes under one label lies in the fact that syntactically they are members of one class (i.e. adjective). The combinatorial properties of adjective, although morphologically they are in fact words of different classes, fulfill the same function as modifiers of head nouns. More specifically the common denominator which binds these four classes together lies in the fact that the nominal phrase type which includes each of them is a form of relationship between two terms: head and modifier. This is again a relationship of their syntactic function regardless of their different classes, or, as Robins puts it

"In the grammatical analysis of languages words are assigned to word classes on the formal basis of syntactic behaviour, supplemented and reinforced by differences

of morphological paradigms, so that every word in a language is a member of a word class." (1)

or in general terms as Muir says

"At h in the nominal group operates the word-class substantive; at m in the nominal group various word-classes operate..." (2)

The adjectival modifiers are therefore distinct classes giving reference to the modification of adjectives. Furthermore, semantically they share the functions which are typically fulfilled by adjectives. This may be represented by the following quotation,

"The same class thus fulfils five functions, and other classes similarly may have more than one... It is better to use the term nominal for 'used as a noun', adjectival for 'used as an adjective', and so on." (3)

In this way, large structures, which have constructions of modification as their constituents, can be identified. This may be demonstrated by a construction: like /rajulun Tayyib/ 'a good man'. In this example, the two elements can, for instance, be used as a construction of modification, since /rajul/ 'a man', is an element having an attribute added to it which has a modifying function; /Tayyib/ 'good', is used to modify the head: It expresses the class of adjective modifier to which it belongs. Thus other constituents could replace the head /rajul/ 'a man',

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- (1) Robins, R.H., General Linguistics, An Introduction Survey, Longman, 1970, p.218.
  - (2) Muir, J., A Modern Approach to English Grammar, An Introduction to Systemic Grammar, 1974, p.5.
  - (3) Bolinger, D., Aspect of Language, Second Edition, 1975, pp.152-53.

such as /walad/ 'a boy', /ʕamal/ 'deed', and other constituents could replace the modifier /Tayyib/ 'good', such as /karīm/ 'generous', /ʔaTyab/ 'better', /naḥs/ 'disaster', /ʕaʕriyy/ 'modern', and /jālis/ 'sitting'. Still the most common modifiers of nouns are adjectives.

For the purpose of the present study several constructions will be given and examined both syntactically and semantically. A distinction will be drawn between different types of modification. These will include attributive or non-attributive, qualitative or relational adjective, and broken or unbroken types.

After showing the link between 'adjective' and the other categories, we proceed to discuss the structures of modification in which these categories occur.

#### Nominal phrase types

As we have illustrated above, the two elements of structure of modification are: a head and a modifier, lexically represented by a noun and adjective respectively, the latter indicating the value of its relationship with the head. The head and the modifier as illustrated above together constitute the immediate constituent of a structure of modification. This is not always the case, since constructions of the kind under consideration may be either simple or complex. In fact, on the basis of their structural representation, we could divide them into five principal constructions, as shown by the following examples:

- (1) /wa takrahu lifatan sarīfin.../ (simple)  
 'and they (Quraish) abhor (this) of a distinguished boy'
- (2) /...hādā al-fatā al-rasīqi al-ʔanīqi al-sāxiri al-ṣābiti.../ (complex: unbroken adjectives)  
 'This mocking, sarcastic, elegant and graceful boy'
- (3) /wa liyanānunna ṣindahu Taṣāman wa sarāban jayyidayn/ (complex: broken: heads)  
 'and they should obtain with him good food and drink'
- (4) /fatan wa fatātun najībātun wa sujaṣ/ (complex: broken: head and adjectives)  
 'a brave boy and a brilliant girl'
- (5) /wa kānū yarawnahu fatan sujaṣan wa karīmā/ (complex: broken: adjectives)  
 'and they considered him as a brave and generous boy'

The following quotation may clarify the above point,

"...,the two components of a structure of modification are a head and a modifier, whose meaning serves to broaden, qualify, select, change, describe, or in some other way affect the meaning of the head... Both the head and the modifier which are the immediate constituents of a structure of modification may themselves be structures of more or less complexity." (1)

In that, a structure of modification in nominal phrases means a construction in which:

- (1) The adjective appears in one of the following forms:  
 adjective and participle,

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(1) Francis, W.N., The Structure of American English, The Roland Press Company, 1958, p.297.



- (2) it occurs as an element modifying the head noun involved,
- (3) it may be single or multiple,
- (4) it affects the meaning of the head noun,
- (5) the head noun appears either as a proper noun or common noun,
- (6) it may be single or multiple.

To illustrate this general characterization of the adjective as modifier with a head noun we may consider the following structures of modification as representatives:

- (a) /wa masākina Tayyibatan.../ (positive type)  
'and into goodly mansions' (1)
- (b) /... ibtisāman ʔajmala wa ʔaṣḍaba min ḍālika al-ibtisām/ (comparative type)  
'...a smile which is more beautiful and pleasant than the previous smile'
- (c) /limitli ḥāḍihi al-muhimmati al-ṣuḍmā/ (superlative type)  
'for greatest mission like this one'
- (d) /wa minhum yusufu al-najjār/ (noun)  
'and one of them is Joseph, the carpenter'
- (e) /lam tuṣna ʔummatun qabla al-ʔislāmi bi al-lugati al-ʔarabiyyah/ (relative type)  
'There was not any nation before Islam which was concerned about the Arabic language'
- (f) /kaʔannahum xuṣubun musannadah/ (participle)  
'as if they were timbers (firmly) propped up' (2)

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.862, verse 12.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.866, verse 4.

The examples given above demonstrate how the modifying function of the adjective can be performed by any one of the previous classes. We shall deal with each of these types in detail.

(i) Positive adjective

In this section, we will examine various examples of what are labelled positive adjective in nominal phrases. Reference will be made to the relations that hold between the two terms which represent the structure of modification as a whole. However, the modification followed by the present writer is that as cited by Robins,

"Thus the relation between subordinate adjective and head (or superordinate) noun is often called qualification or modification, a semantically derived label taken from a frequent, though by no means universal, function of adjectives in such constructions." (1)

More accurately, in nominal phrases the positive adjectives are identifiable by their formalistic and syntactic relationship with the head noun which they modify and with which they show concord. In other words, the following possibilities of structure can occur, depending on the morphological form and syntactic behaviour of each element in a sequence of two or more identical elements (i.e. in concordial relations).

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(1) Robins, R.H. op.cit., p.231

- 1a) N + adj → Ṣaynāni Saġīratani...  
 NP 'two small eyes'
- 1b) N + adj + adj... → Ṣaynāni Saġīratāni ġaʔiratānī...  
 NP
- 1c) N + N → ...nasṬāsa al-tājiri...  
 NP 'NasṬās, the dealer...'
- 2) N + N + adj → imruʔu al-qaysi al-maliku  
 NP al-Dillilu...  
 'the wandering king, Imru' al-qays'
- 3a) N + rel.adj + adj → al-jawwu al-ʔadabiyyu al-jadīdu...  
 NP 'the new, literary atmosphere'
- 3b) N + rel.adj + rel.adj → al-nahDatu al-Ṣarabiyyatu  
 NP al-Ṣasriyyah  
 'the recent Arabian  
 renaissance'

There are still further possibilities such as may occur as a result of alteration or closer examination or extension (see below). As we can see from the above structures, the analysis of a structure of modification is purely a matter of terms operating in nominal phrase structure. Thus the simplest type of nominal phrase is one which consists of a head which is realized by a single word. The head noun may be followed by another element; this is called the modifier, (as any adjective or noun may be), as in 1(a) and (c). This modifier element may be followed by one or more elements which function separately in a string

of modifiers, as in 1(b) and 3(b). However, such structures can be complex. If we take, for instance the nominal phrases marked (2) and 3(a) we can see that the basic head words of both NPs are, in complex groups, followed by a further head noun in (2) and an adjective in 3(a). Here in 3(a) as the adjective modifies the whole preceding NP, its position is fixed following the NP. In 2 however we have NPs in apposition, the reference of which is the same. In the order given al-malik al-Dallīl modifies Imru' al-qays. If it was reversed the structure would still be grammatical but imru' al-qays would modify al-maliku al-Dallīl. In other words, the noticeable feature in the NPs is that the adjective in 3(a) combined with the preceding noun to constitute what Muir refers to as the primary structure<sup>(1)</sup> of the nominal group, in terms of the smallest realization. This primary structure or basic structure, which consists of head noun and modifier, has the potentiality of functioning all as a modifier of the initial noun as in (2), since they occur as the second configuration in the complex nominal phrase. However, the term modifier is applied to the adjective and the other relevant elements because they occur in association with another noun in a larger nominal phrase (see below). For this reason, it seems they ought to be seen as modifiers. Notice that the role of modifier can be a manifestation of the syntactic function of the adjective separately or the

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(1) Muir, op.cit., pp.26 and 27.

nominal phrase as a whole as is shown in 1(a), (b), and (2) respectively. Again, this means that the modifier of NP can either be expressed by a full NP, or just an adjective.

Moreover the distinction of the adjective is identified in respect of:

- a) the morphological form (i.e. adjective)
- b) its position as a post-posed element in the surface arrangement of the structure of modification
- c) its occurrence in an open structure
- d) its syntactic behaviour within an NP
- e) its status of dependency in the hierarchy of syntactic relations (i.e. concordial relations).

For these reasons, morphological and syntactic considerations are the distinctive features of the adjective. Furthermore the adjective is a multi-dimensional concept in terms of function, as we shall illustrate below.

(A) Attributive adjective

The adjective functioning as an attributive is seen in the nominal phrases in which the syntactical relationship of an adjective with a head noun accords it parity of status: this can be recognized when the adjective takes an ordinary or intensive form, as the following examples show:

- 1a) /hādā al-fatā al-yatīmu.../  
'this orphan boy'

- 1b) /fatan yatīmūn.../  
'an orphan boy'
- 2a) /hādā al-sayxu al-mifDālu.../  
'the most outstanding sheikh'
- 2b) /sayxun mifDālun.../  
'a most outstanding sheikh'

The attributive adjective in these examples is established by the grammatical process that requires an identical relation between the adjective and the head noun for the adjective to be identified as attributive in function. That is to say, the adjective must be in identical relationship with its preceding noun if it is to be considered as having an attributive function.

Therefore, the concord relation here is absolutely indispensable, contrary to Palmer's belief. To quote,

"Thus, in languages where there is a fairly fixed order of words, and where that order indicates the grammatical relations between the words, concord and government would appear to be unnecessary luxuries (or difficulties)." (1)

This point will be discussed in some detail later on.

It is quite clear from the above examples that it is the head noun which influences the adjective so obviously the head noun stands in a predominant position with regard to the following adjective or adjectives in the nominal phrases. This in contrast with the predicative

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(1) See Palmer, F., Grammar, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1971, p.105.

adjective in a structure of predication, in which the subject is definite and the predicate is indefinite, i.e. they have a grammatical polarity which operates on both the subject and the predicate, so that each one stands in a differentiated definite status, as, for example, in:

3a) /hādā al-fatā yatīm/

'This man is an orphan boy'

3b) /hādā al-sayxu mifDāl/

'This sheikh is most outstanding'

Contrasting the above examples in (1) and (2) with (3), we notice that, though they have one feature in common (i.e. they include an adjective), there are two types of syntactic structure. Those in group (1) and (2) are structures of modification; having two terms (1) a head (i.e. al-fatā 'the boy', fatan 'a boy', al-sayxu 'the sheikh' and sayxun 'a sheikh') and (2) a modifier which is illustrated by an adjective and which has identical status with the noun it modifies (i.e. al-yatīmu 'the orphan', yatīmun 'orphan', al-mifDālu 'the most outstanding', and mifDālun 'most outstanding').

Defined in this way, the syntactic result is that the function of the adjective is attributive. Those in group (3) are structure of predication; their two terms are (1) a subject (i.e. al-fatā 'the boy', and al-sayxu 'the sheikh') and (2) a predicate which shows a contrasting definitional status with the subject involved, and is therefore represented by an adjective of predicative

function (i.e. *yatīm* 'orphan' and *mifDāl* 'most outstanding'). Cases like this are used to refer to the grammatical structure of the 'nominal sentence' in Arabic, since they demonstrate the nature of 'nominal sentence' which satisfies the rule<sup>(1)</sup> of which the term *mubtadaʿ* 'the concept about which something is said', must be definite and the term *xabar* 'what is said about *mubtadaʿ*' must be indefinite. This makes the latter an adjective restricted to predication, not modification.

So syntactically there is a contrast between group (1,2) and (3). In (1,2) the adjective occurs in an open structure and matches the preceding noun in its formalistic definite status; whereas in (3) the adjective occurs in a closed structure and is indefinite following a definite noun. Having this distinction in mind will help the reader to avoid confusion in delimiting these two types.

Another point in distinguishing modification from predication is that the structure of modification allows a transposal of the sequence of the two constituents involved in a structure of which the head noun is a proper noun and the modifier is an adjective. A transposition, therefore, will produce appositive structure (for apposition see Chapter VI). Compare:

- 1a) /xālidun al-qāʾidu.../  
'Khalid, the leader'

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(1) See Abd al-ḥamīd M.M., *ʿawDāḥu al-masālik* 'The Clearest Way', Fifth Edition, 1967, part I, pp.194-204.



1b) /al-qā?idu xālilidun.../

'The leader, Khalid'

2a) /xālīdun qā?id/

'Khalid is a leader'

but not

2b) \*/qā?idun xālīd/

As the above pairs of examples illustrate, in (1), the structure of modification is transposable, if the head noun is a proper noun and the adjective included is defined by the article al- 'the', then the structure demonstrates apposition, as shown in 1(b). Whereas in 2(a) the structure of predication is not transposable, since such a transposition would violate the grammatical rules which confine the predicate in structures like the above to the second position.

This brings us to a peculiar point: the structure of predication mentioned above assumes a fixed word order. Equally the structure of modification comprising a common noun as a head and an adjective as a modifier does not allow a transposition of the sequence of its two constituent elements. Again a transposition of a given sequence of common noun and identical adjective will yield an unacceptable structure. Consider:

a) /dālīka huwa munādī al-ʿilmi al-mahd/

'That is the calling of unmixed knowledge'

but not

b) \*/dālika huwa manadi al-mahDi al-Σilm/

a) /jahlun sadīd/

'great ignorance'

but not

b) \*/sadīdun jahl/

There is no doubt that the adjective in examples under (a) occurs in post-head position which assures the idea of a particular head noun involved. That is to say, their invariable position is definitely determined by the occurrence of a special class of head noun which the adjective always follows. So the sequential arrangement of the two terms shows an acceptable structure, namely that of HM, but if their sequence were transposed it would produce unacceptable structure i.e. \*MH.

Taking the analysis further, we can state that the class membership of the head noun is the determiner of a fixed or free word order. The order HM is obligatory if a common noun occurs as head, but non-obligatory if a proper noun occurs as head. Working from this distinction the former is similar to the structure of predication as regards sequence whereas the latter is a contrastive version with respect to transposition, since the adjective as a modifier can be transposed with a proper noun head, but not as a predicate with a proper noun subject, as illustrated above.

The dividing line between what is called a fixed and free order is sharply drawn. We have already illustrated

types of arrangement of classes having a common noun or proper noun followed by an adjective. These types of class-variations should be considered as being representatives of grammatical classification. That is, the head noun can be classified as a common noun in its grammatical representation: defined by the preceding article al- 'the', whereas the proper noun is definite by its nature. The common noun differs from the proper noun in that the definite article al-, 'the', can be prefixed to its base; thus the former is made definite by the definite article, whereas the latter is definite by class-membership. It differs also in that the head noun can be indefinite. Therefore the common noun is (+def.) and the proper noun is (+def.). The vast majority of head nouns are variable in this way and usually the order of the nominal phrase in which they occur is fully predictable. However, there is a restriction on order, which is dictated by the presence of a noun with common reference followed by an adjective, and non-restriction which is indicated by the co-occurrence of a proper noun with an adjective that is preceded by the article al- 'the', and is based on a syntagmatic axis.

Further, the crucial point is that though both types are referred to as "contrastive", in a given sequence, they are identified on a functional basis such as Head-modifier relations. Consider the illustrations below:

- a) /wa allāhu lā yahdī al-qawma al-fāsiqīn/  
'for God does now bestow His guidance upon iniquitous folk' (1)
- b) /...ʔaʕjāzu <sup>H</sup>naxlin <sup>M</sup>xāwiyah/  
'trunks of hollow palm trees' (2)
- a) /<sup>H</sup>al-rīha <sup>M</sup>al-ʕaqīm/  
'destroying wind' (3)
- b) /... fajāʔa bi<sup>H</sup>ʕijlin <sup>M</sup>samīn/  
'and brought forth a fat (roasted) calf' (4)
- a) /<sup>H</sup>dālika <sup>M</sup>al-dīnu al-qayyim/  
'this is the (purpose of the one) ever-true faith' (5)
- b) /muttakiʔīna ʕalā <sup>H</sup>rafrafin <sup>M</sup>xuDrin wa <sup>H</sup>ʕabqariyyin <sup>M</sup>hisān/  
'(In such a paradise will they dwell,) reclining upon meadows green carpets rich in beauty' (6)

It appears that the descriptive arrangements and configuration of functions can best be in accordance with what Halliday<sup>(7)</sup> has proposed for identifying syntagmatic relations. He suggests that the linear arrangement of classes in the NP is referred to as a syntagm, but the non-linear configuration of functions is referred to as a structure. Syntagm and structure together constitute syntagmatic functions.

- 
- (1) Asad, *op.cit.*, pp.860-61, verse 5.  
 (2) Asad, *ibid.*, p.888, verse 7.  
 (3) Asad, *ibid.*, p.805, verse 41.  
 (4) Asad, *ibid.*, p.804, verse 26.  
 (5) Asad, *ibid.*, p.621, verse 30.  
 (6) Asad, *ibid.*, p.828-29, verse 76.  
 (7) Halliday, M.A.K., *Notes on Deep Grammar*, Journal of Linguistics, Volume II.

It is noticed that what can be referred to in terms of structure as the head can be realized as an independent/ predominant element where that referred to as a modifier can be represented by a dependent/dominant adjective. Once the head noun and the modifier are identified, the statement of their role in the surface structure becomes a simple task. The head noun thus is syntactically what controls the adjective agreement (see later on), and the adjective is what is governed by the head and reflects full concordial relations with it. To recapitulate the above illustrations the following examples are given as representative:

To ensure that the above examples are structurally assigned as nominal phrases involving two terms, and HM is the basic unmarked order and MH is the marked one (that is, in terms of frequency of occurrence), one has

to examine them in the light of their essential properties which are classified on the basis of:

- a) their syntactic configuration as including an obligatory/independent element (H), and an optional/dependent element (M)
- b) the identical concordial relations that is dictated between the two terms involved in a nominal phrase,
- c) the class of the head and the modifier (e.g. common or proper noun + adjective) and
- d) the position of the adjective in a sequence with a N adj. order, or with an adj. N order showing the unmarked and marked orders respectively.

So structurally there is an element that is Head, and another element which functions to modify (modifier). The head, around which the other elements cluster, and which dominates them as regards concord. The modifier, which comprises each element is placed usually after the head and shows a full agreement with the head, as members of one NP. It will be seen from the above examples that the arrangement with a N adj. sequence is in unmarked order, frequency of usage makes N + adj. the dominant order in CA, whereas that of adj. + N is the marked NP since the adjective is transposed for focus reasons. By this we mean that the transposed adjective tends to be given more prosodic emphasis than the head, as in 2(b). In this manner, the adjective may be regarded as a stressed form of the definite modifier. In consequence,

although the definite modifier may precede any proper noun, the indefinite cannot as we said before.

It is noteworthy that in such cases it is not acceptable for the linear sequence of a nominal phrase to be interrupted by any item.<sup>(1)</sup> Note for instance that the insertion of a prepositional phrase between the two definite terms: head and modifier in the following would produce lexical items which lacking any semantic value and would be structurally inadmissible.

a) /al-marʔatu al-ʕajūz/

'The very old woman'

b) \*/al-marʔatu fī al-bayti al-ʕajūz/

a) /ʕaliyyun al-naḥīf/

'Ali, the thin man'

b) \*/ʕaliyyun fī al-bayti al-naḥīf/

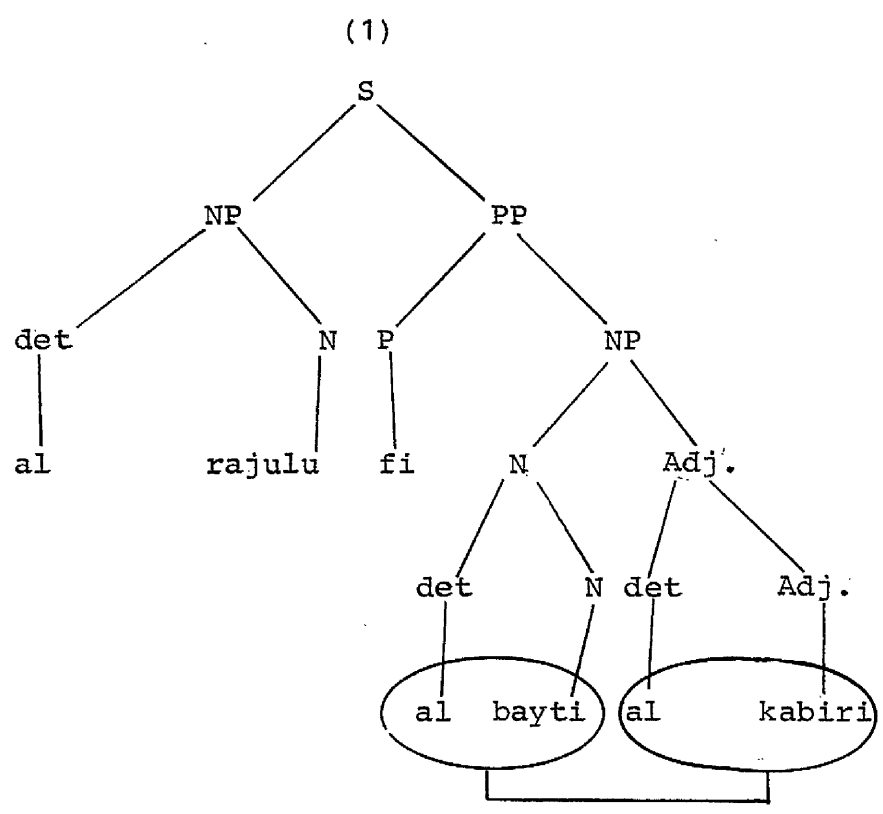
This is not always so as it seems since a structure like al-raǧulu fī al-bayti al-kabīr 'The man is in the large house', which takes postmodifier (al-kabīr 'the large') plainly related to the genitive noun (al-bayti 'the house') rather than the nominative noun (al-raǧulu 'the man'); that is established on a semantic and concordial basis. In contrast to the structure as

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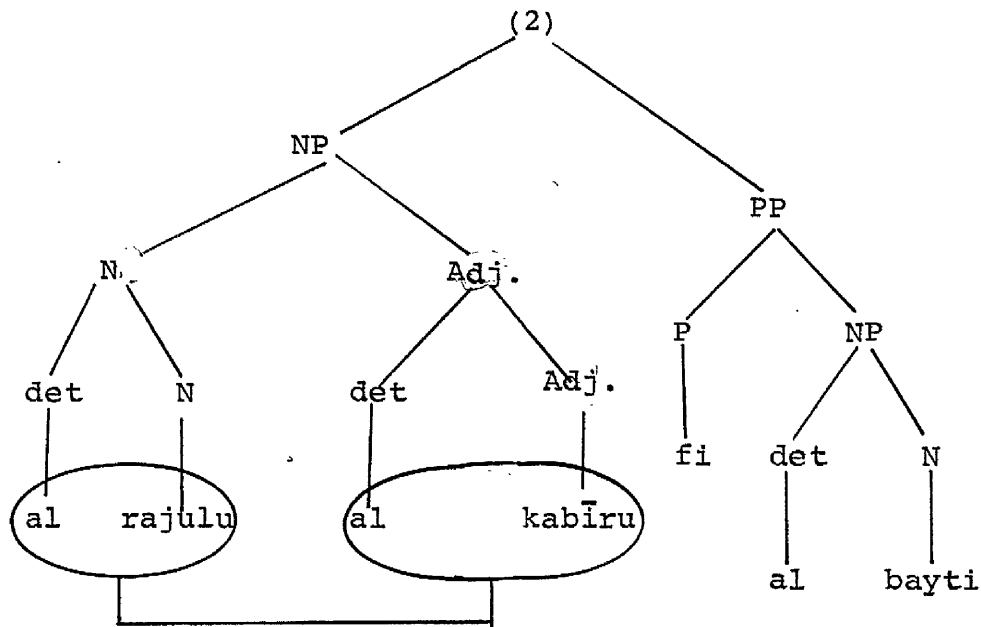
(1) Arab grammarians note that under certain conditions the sequence of the head noun + adjective may be separated by certain items to give discontinuous modification. For further information of relating these items to certain terms in grammatical categories, see Ḥasan, A., *al-naḥwu al-wāfī*, Cairo (1969), vol. 3, pp.421-22.

al-rajulu al-kabīru fī al-bayt 'The old man is in the house', where the adjective (al-kabīru) is related to the nominative noun (al-rajulu) and has two interpretations (i.e. old and great). However, both structures are based on the fact that the adjective-head noun relation is structural in its essence.

However, the two sentences where the nominal phrases occur can be diagrammed as follows:







For more illustrations of attributive adjectives as modifier, consider:

- (1) /fiḥā kutubun qayyimah/
- 'wherein there are ordinances of ever-true soundness and clarity' (1)
- (2) /wa ḥadā al-balīdī al-ʔamīn/
- 'and this land secure!' (2)
- (3) /wa tuḥibbūna al-mala hubban jammā/
- 'and you love wealth with boundless love!' (3)
- (4) /fasawfa yuḥāsabu ḥisāban yasīrā/
- 'He will in time be called to account with an easy accounting' (4)

- 
- (1) Asad, op.cit., p.967, verse 3.  
 (2) Asad, ibid., p.961, verse 3.  
 (3) Asad, ibid., p.951, verse 20.  
 (4) Asad, ibid., p.940, verse 8.

- (5) /wa kaʔsan dihāqā/  
 'and a cup (of happiness) overflowing' (1)
- (6) /wa ʔanzalnā mina al-muʔSirāti māʔan tajjājā/  
 'And from the wind-driven clouds we send down  
 waters pouring in abundance' (2)

B) Attributive nouns

The term 'attributive' is brought in here particularly for syntactic/semantic reasons, since this type of noun behaves functionally like the central adjectives. That is to say, for the language user in CA, the nouns, which are used as nouns of occupation, serve syntactically as attributives; the purpose of this is to attribute (not to identify or classify a given proper noun) and to function semantically as determiners to the head noun involved, in the sense that this type of noun occurs as a specific component of the head noun. What is of immediate concern here is that the element which figures as the attributive noun must be of identical status with the head noun as regards definiteness, otherwise the element concerned will be predicative in function rather than attributive.

To illustrate this point, compare the following pairs of examples where (a) contains a noun functioning as attribute and (b) involves a noun serving as a predicate:

- 
- (1) Asad, ibid., p.924, verse 34.  
 (2) Asad, ibid., p.923, verse 14.

- a) /ḥasanun al-najjār/  
'Ḥasan, the carpenter'
- b) /ḥasanun najjār/  
'Ḥasan is a carpenter'
- a) /zayḍun al-qaSSāb/  
'Zayd, the butcher'
- b) /zayḍun qaSSāb/  
'Zayd is a butcher'

As the elements underlined above show, the prefixed article al- 'the', which with nouns marks the difference between attributive and predicative functions, identifies the attributive noun (or rather assigns the structure of modification).

The attributive nouns can further be distinguished; if we look into the sequence, we observe that the difference between attributive and predicative nouns is that attributive nouns permit a transposal of the elements involved but not predicative. Another remarkable sequential difference between both types is that the occurrence of what the Arab grammarians call "Damīru al-FaSl" the pronoun of separation, or *ʿimād* or *diʿāmah* 'support' is inserted between the head noun and the attributive noun, whilst that is precluded with a structure embracing an indefinite predicative element. Still, the insertion of such a pronoun will present an overt marker of predication, or as Emile Benvensite puts it,

"But the function of predication can be given a definite sign: it is the so-called pronoun of the third singular that serves as the "copula", it is then inserted between the subject and the predicate".(1)

However, it is not at all clear on what basis Benveniste has chosen the term "copula" for the function of the pronoun, since the copula in Arabic, as far as this term is concerned, can only apply to a verb that relates the subject to the predicate in a marked tense in which it is lexically represented by *kāna*, *ʔasbah* etc. (what the Arab grammarians call the incomplete verbs). I may mention at this point that a similar view (of rejecting the idea of considering the pronoun as a copula) was made by Y.Ahmed. In this I am in agreement with him. Although in this connection, his analysis of the pronoun as a state<sup>(2)</sup> is not justified. It would have been more realistic to analyse the pronoun as a term which is capable of doing a transformation on the basis of changing one linguistic structure into another. The presence of a pronoun serves only to change a nominal phrase into a sentence type (see Chapter II). The last point to be mentioned here is that Benveniste has not made clear what syntactical criteria he adopted when assuming that the value of separation can be confined to the presence of the third singular pronoun only.

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(1) Benveniste, op.cit., p.165.

(2) Y.A.M. Ahmed, A Study of Focus in the Arabic Dialect of Kuwait, Ph.D. thesis, London University (1979), p.249.

The pronoun in question can be also dual or plural in form, according to its concordial relation with the subject in gender and number, as for instance: al-zaydāni humā al-ḥārisān 'The two Zayd are the (two) guards', and al-zaydūna humu al-ḥārisūn 'The more than two Zayd are the (more than two) guards'.

As has been illustrated, such an account is very remote from the actualities of language as revealed in linguistic structures. Thus, the examples for what we are referring to above are:

- 1a) /ḥasanun al-ḥaddād/  
'Ḥasan, the blacksmith...'
- 1b) /al-ḥaddādu ḥasan/  
'the blacksmith Ḥasan'
- 1c) /ḥasanun huwa al-ḥaddād/  
'Ḥasan is the blacksmith'
- 2a) /kāna ḥasanun al-ḥaddādu.../  
'Ḥasan the blacksmith was...'
- 2b) /kāna ḥasanun huwa al-ḥaddād/  
'Ḥasan was surely the blacksmith'
- 3a) /ḥasanun ḥaddād/  
'Ḥasan is a blacksmith'

but not

- \*/haddadun hasan/
- \*/ḥasanun huwa ḥaddād/

It can be seen from these examples that the structure of a given string indicates quite plainly the function to

which it is assigned, namely modification or predication. In other words, each one of these examples is a structure of modification or predication. It can also be seen that there are four points to note when the two elements of structure are definite: (i) the normal sequence of two elements is required for an unmarked structure which has head-modifier relation, as in 1(a), (ii) a transposition can be made for the purpose of focus, a relation is also held between the two terms (i.e. modifier-head) in a marked structure, as in 1(b), (iii) a pronoun can be inserted between the two elements involved (be it unmarked or marked structure) as a marking device of the structure of predication in which the predicate is comparable (i.e. definite predicate compares with definite modifier (adjective) or noun and indefinite predicate), as in 1(c), 2(b) and 1(a), (b), 2(a), 3(a) comparably. Thus the lexical item *huwa*, the so-called "pronoun of separation, will only occur when the predicate is definite. A pronoun of separation is therefore a definite sign which explicitly expresses prediction.<sup>(1)</sup> Furthermore, a focus on the subject is signalled by reduplicating the subject through the use of a coreferent independent personal pronoun. In this case, the independent pronoun matches the subject

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(1) Footnote: The classical grammarians (Ḥasan, A. vol. I, pp.242-50) permitted the function of the string like *hasanun al-ḥaddād* as a predication meaning 'Hasan is an ironsmith'. However the use of such a structure is now extremely rare, and normally this string would be taken as a nominal phrase meaning Ḥasan, the ironsmith... See also Chapter II, p.112.

and must be assigned stress. As it has the property of identifying the subject as being the only one having the specific quality involved. The pronouns, therefore, express certain semantic relationships between conditioned predicates and subjects and on this account cannot be used for all cases of predication as with 3(a) and (iv) here a copula preceds the elements of a structure, contrasting them with others which have no copula. Further it is to be considered as an indicator introducing the tense to the following structure. In other words, it relates the subject to the predicate in a marked tense, as illustrated above (see also Chapter II).

Note that it is not the aim here to present in detail all the properties of the structure of predication, but rather to discuss them in general terms. The structure of predication may be thought of as in contrast with the structure of modification, the one concerned with predicative, and the other with attributive relations.

The presence of copulative verbs as well as the independent personal pronoun may also be thought of as special items identified as being markers of, rather than elements in, syntactic relations. Also they may be regarded as features of paradigmatic relations, in systems which are adopted for the statement of paradigmatic relations.

Having said that, we can consider the following two quotations:

"A system is thus a representation of relations on the paradigmatic axis, a set of features contrastive in a given environment. Function in the system is defined by the total configuration, for example, 'past' by reference to 'present' and 'future' in a three-term tense system, as structural function is defined by reference to the total structural configuration, for example 'modifier' by reference to head." (1)

"The horizontal dimension of language is called syntagmatic, the vertical dimension, paradigmatic. The first is the domain of syntax, which is literally a "putting together", and the term syntagm is sometimes used to mean any unit or coherent group of units along the horizontal line, such as a word, a phrase, or a clause. A paradigm is any of the vertical sets that we have just discussed, but the term is used most often to refer to the sets that are tied together by some grammatical rules, such as pronouns with their cases, or verbs with their inflections for number, tense, and person." (2)

It may be useful here to mention that an analysis has been made on these lines by El-Rabbat (who I am delighted to note uses, as I do, these terms in Arabic). He says:

"An adequate grammatical description of a language will involve a structural component and a systemic component; the structural accounts for the syntagmatic and the systemic for the paradigmatic relationships." (3)

- 
- (1) Halliday, Notes on Deep Grammar, op.cit., pp.60-61.
  - (2) See Bolinger, D., Aspect..., op.cit., p.27. For more information see also Robins, op.cit., p.45.
  - (3) See El-Rabbat, A.H., The Major Clause..., op.cit., p.27.



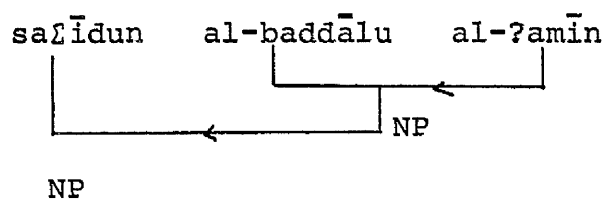
The present study, however, attempts no further discussion of the systemic. The presentation of the systemic description here only serves the purpose of setting off the structural description which is adopted in this study.

From the foregoing discussion, we are better able to understand the main properties of attributives, attribute nouns and the corresponding attributive adjectives which combine with the head noun to constitute a structure of modification in contrast with the predicative nouns and adjectives which yield with the subject a structure of predication.

So far the two terms of attributive function are strikingly similar. The differences, if the word class and word order (of more than two elements) is examined, lie in the fact that nouns which occur as attributives, are usually those used to denote occupations, whereas the adjectives which occur as attributives are in essence an adjectival class. Following this classification, both are subject to further consideration, that is, the attributive noun can be modified by a restrictive adjective (in which case the adjective is derived and prefixed by the definite article al- 'the'). The two terms constitute an NP modifying the initial head noun in a construction of two NPs, as seen below. However, where two modifiers separately follow the head noun there is no justification for the analysis of the modifier as

modifying the first. The structural relationship of a string of adjectives with the central noun makes it clear that each adjective independently modifies the head noun in question. Thus two or more adjectives preceded by a noun function equally as attributives, in such a way that the second, for instance, as well as the first serves as attributive adjective in one NP e.g.

N        adj        adj  
/fatan nahifun qawiyy/ 'a slim, strong boy', while a two noun sequence followed by a modifier of the class of adjective will be syntactically a complex NP. However the co-occurrence of two nouns, where the second is of the sort dealt with above (occupational), with an adjective would result that the second noun will be the head of a subordinate noun-phrase which modifies the first noun. In other words, the occurrence of the adjective has shifted the assumed function "of the noun as attributive" to the head noun. Therefore the attributive noun, which becomes the structural head noun, and, like the main head noun dictates agreement in gender and number, constitutes with the adjective a new NP. This nominal phrase, according to the principle of functional process, is operating within the structure of another NP. In the example, saʕīdun al-baddālu al-ʔamīn 'Saeed, the honest grocer', the nominal phrases are operating in a complex structure; that is, as was stated earlier, items which occur at M include the second noun (al-baddāl) and the adjective (al-ʔamīn) serving in the structure of nominal group with the initial place noun (saʕīd). The analysis is therefore:



Such structures of the nominal phrase are treated as complex, if the structure has two successive head nouns and a modifier, being usually a proper noun followed by a common noun and then an adjective. However, the essential characteristic of this type of structure is that it normally has stress on both head nouns. Thus, phonologically, intonation is important in the spoken language for identifying such types; so one can say that this kind of nominal phrase is marked off by an intonation break, as in sayyidun//al-xabbāzu al-sarīʿ/ 'Sayyid, the quick-baker'. Remember that the Arabic language has no comma marker for this kind of structure.

At this point the two types of structures are basically different, as can be seen from the examples given and their configuration of function. (This classifies the distinction made between the structure of one NP and that of two NPs in a structure of modification.) Furthermore, the two patterns show us how order depends on the word-class. To shed light on this, both types have two-place construction of subordination. The order marks the difference between the two types. The examples given below indicate how the sequence is required. When the word-class "noun" operates at the element  $h^2$  (it has already been illustrated that this class can function as attributive), and the

word-class "adjective" operates at the element M. Thus, the sequence is invariable, and the attributive adjective must follow it. To this structure with its elements we can give the structural name modifier regarding its structural relation with the preceding head noun. It is perhaps worth repeating that in this structure these two items modifying the basic head noun are fixed in position, while in the other structure the sequence of the adjectives can be reordered (i.e. there is no restriction on the order of those adjectives) i.e. in *fatan nahīfun qawīyy*).

Contrast the following two sets of examples where in (1) the structures show that the second head noun with the following attributive adjective is modifying the first head noun, whereas in (2) the basic head noun is modified by each one of the following two adjectives individually in a free order.

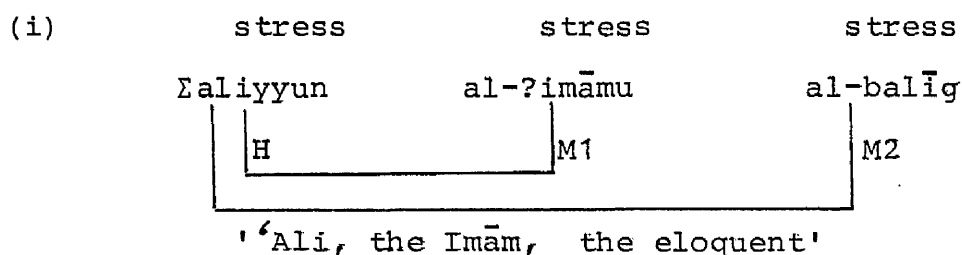
Set I

- 1a)      wa qad nas<sub>M</sub>?at baynahu wa bayna <sup>H</sup>jarīrin <sup>H</sup>al-sāʿiri  
             al-ʿarībi munāfasah/  
             'There has been a competition between him and the  
             clever poet Jarir'
- 1b)      / qutila ʿabdu al-ḥamīdi al-ʿustādu al-farīdu liʾahli Sināʿati  
             al-ʿinsāʾ/  
             'ʿAbd al-ḥamid who is master of the art of writing was killed'
- 1c)      /ʿumarū al-xalīfatu al-ʿādil/  
             'ʿOmar, the just caliph'  
             'the just caliph, ʿOmar'
- 1d)      /quṭariyyun al-xaṭību al-balīg/  
             'Qutari, the eloquent orator'

Set II

- 2a)                   <sup>H</sup>                   <sup>M</sup>                   <sup>M</sup>  
 /ʕaliyyun al-ʔamīnu al-taqiyy/  
 'Ali, the honest and pious man'  
 or                   /ʕaliyyun al-taqiyyu al-ʔamīn/  
 'Ali, the pious and honest man'  
 2b)                   /ḥātimun al-karīmu al-sujāʕ/  
 'Ḥatim, the generous and brave man'  
 or                   /ḥātimun al-sujāʕu al-karīm/  
 'Ḥatim, the brave and generous man'  
 2c)                   /zaynabu al-taqiyyatu al-wariʕah'/  
 'Zaynab, the God-fearing and most pious girl'  
 or                   /zaynabu al-wariʕatu al-taqiyyah/  
 'Zaynab, the most pious and God-fearing girl'  
 2d)                   /al-ʔimāmu ʔabū ḥanīfata al-jarīʔu al-dakiyy/  
 'Imām ʔabu Ḥanīfah, the brave and intelligent scholar'  
 or                   /al-ʔimāmu ʔabū ḥanīfata al-dakiyyu al-jarīʔ/  
 'Imām ʔabū ḥanīfah the intelligent and brave scholar'

Again, phonologically speaking, the nominal group can be described in terms of stress, and accordingly each element has its function. The structure is represented in the following two diagrams to show how stress defines the function involved.



- (ii)
- | stress   |           | stress   |
|----------|-----------|----------|
| Σaliyyun | al-ʔimāmu | al-balīg |
| H        | H         | M        |

' Ali, the eloquent Imām'

The distinction between these two examples is that in (i) these three separate falling pitches are on each stressed word. In (ii) however, there are only two falling pitches, one on ʔaliyyun and the other stretching as the string al-ʔimāmu al-balīg. Further examples of noun as head and adjective as modifier are the following:

- (1) /lita?kulū minhu <sup>H</sup>lahman <sup>M</sup>Tariyyā/  
'so that you might eat fresh meat from it' (1)
- (2) /Σalayhā mala<sup>H</sup>?ikatun <sup>M</sup>gilā<sup>M</sup>Dun <sup>M</sup>sidād/  
'(lording) over it are angelic powers awesome (and) severe' (2)
- (3) /?illā man ?atā allāha <sup>H</sup>bigalbin <sup>M</sup>salīm/  
'(and when) only he (will be happy) who comes before God with a heart free of evil!' (3)
- (4) /fī <sup>H</sup>jannatin <sup>M</sup>Σāliyah/  
'in a lofty paradise' (4)
- (5) /wa <sup>H</sup>kawā<sup>M</sup>Σiba <sup>M</sup>?atrābā/  
'and splendid companions well-matched' (5)

- (1) Asad, ibid., p.395, verse 14.
- (2) Asad, ibid., p.877, verse 7.
- (3) Asad, ibid., p.566, verse 89.
- (4) Asad, ibid., p.889, verse 22.
- (5) Asad, ibid., p.924, verse 33.

### Identification and further considerations

Having surveyed the two types in sets (1) and (2) above, and the previous examples setting out the distinction made above between the two types of attributive adjective and attributive noun, one can clearly observe that in Set (I) the syntactic categories functioning as heads and the attributive adjective are obviously a double-headed structure with a modifier consisting of two nouns and an adjective whose function is marked by the sequence, i.e. they are in a fixed order while in (II) the syntactic terms of attributive can possibly be rearranged and have the above two possibilities. This is, because the roles of the two dependent elements are both morphologically defined (i.e. adjective) and syntactically they function in the same way (i.e. attributive).

Looking more closely at both types we note that the two items modifying the preceding noun are preceded always by the definite article al- 'the' in which the structure is introduced by a proper noun. In Set (I) the second noun is more general than the first and serves to identify more definitively the proper noun filling the first head position, being modified by the following adjective. The whole structure, again, is modifying the first head noun whereas in set (II) the presence of two adjectives severally qualifying the head noun makes the reference to the noun more specific.

It is now necessary to recall the earlier structures which show that the class of nouns known as occupational

and common nouns occur after the head noun, and adjectives at M follow their head. However, nouns of occupation or personal titles when occurring with proper names commonly precede in the structure although they are in fact the modifier al-faqīd, al-marhūm, al-magfūru lah 'the late' al-madẓuwu 'the so-called' al-sarīf 'title of the descendants of Mohammad' al-sahīd 'the martyr', al-hājj 'the Muslim who has done the pilgrimage', al-mahrūs 'the protected (by God)' etc. precede the head noun, which are heavily used recently (see Chapter VI on apposition). For the sake of representation, we give the following examples:

- a) /al-faqīdu hasan/  
'the late, Hasan'
- b) /al-marhūmu ʿabdu allāh/  
'the late, Abdu allāh'
- c) /al-hājju ʿutmān/  
'the Muslim (who has done the pilgrimage), 'Osman'
- d) /al-mahrūsu ʿādil/ (for a child)  
'the protected, 'Adil'

In contrast with what precedes for focus reasons, as in:

- e) /jāʔa al-Darīfu zayd/  
'The nice man, Zayd came'

It is obvious that with the above examples only the latter is marked structure, since the elements al-Darīfu zayd 'The nice man, Zayd', provide an illustration of the fact that the element (al-Darīf) is transposed of the unmarked structure (zaydun al-Darīf) for focus reasons. Hence this type of structure will be interpreted as Mh.



C) Relational adjectives

Relational adjectives functioning as attributives are characterized by termination -iyy, -iyyah. For example, the elements hāsimiyy in fatan hāsimiyy 'a Hashemite boy' and ʿarabiyyah 'Arab', in imraʿatun ʿarabiyyah 'an Arab woman', are given the denominal endings (-iyy and -iyyah) which put them into the regular fixed adjectival form. These two markers also classify denominal adjectives into either masculine or feminine, the feminine being marked by (yt) which is realized phonologically (iyyah). However, this type of adjective, which has the relation as an aspect, follows its governing noun and agrees with it in gender, number and case. Adjectives of this kind as well as others are completely influenced by the preceding head noun in an attributive relation. The denominal adjectives in attributive relation take the definite article al- 'the', if the preceding head noun is defined and vice versa. However, the adjective involved will mean lexically 'relating to', and it may be followed by postmodifying items, as it is shown below. For instance, a sequence of two definite elements such as a noun followed by a denominal adjective, will constitute a structure that has a definitional status. This syntactic feature (i.e. the presence of the article) is a definite sign that the relational adjective which modifies the governing noun functions semantically as identifier at a structural level. In other words, the meaning, identification, here, is possible but only with an added condition that the two

elements be marked (+ def) whereas in a sequence of two indefinite elements the relational adjective functions as classifier, such a structure is met with these considerations. It was found that the definite article role which al- plays in marking semantic structures here is thereby producing an identifying relation. Thus, the main function of this type of nominal phrase is to attribute a certain identity or state to the head noun.

Consider the following two sets of examples

#### Set I

- a) /yadkuru al-sayxa al-ʔaʔrābiyya bayn hīnin wa hīn/  
'He remembers the Arabian sheikh from time to time'
- b) /kānat dimasqu markaza al-xilāfati fī ʔahdi  
al-dawlati al-ʔumawiyah/  
'Damascus was the centre of caliphate during the time of the Ommiad nation'
- c) /hādihi al-xāssatu fī al-ʔaqli al-ʔarabiyy/  
'This property is in the Arab mind'
- d) /al-harakatu al-falsafiyyah/  
'the philosophical movement'

#### Set II

- a) /wa kadālika ʔawḥaynā ʔilayka qurʔānan ʔarabiyyā/  
'(Thou art but entrusted with our message:) and so we have revealed unto thee a discourse in the Arabic tongue' (1)

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(1) Asad, op.cit., pp.739-40, verse 7.

- b) /kāna fī al-ʿuṣūri al-ʾūlā lil-ʾislāmi nazaʿātun  
jāhiliyyatun wa nazaʿātun ʾislāmiyyah/  
 'There were pre-Islamic and Islamic attitudes during  
 the first periods of Islam'
- c) /bilisānin ʿarabiyyin mubīn/  
 'in the clear Arabic tongue' (1)
- d) /hayātun ʿaqliyyatun maḏharuhā al-lugatu wa al-siʿr/  
 'An intellectual life is manifested in language and  
 poetry'
- e) /rajulun tamīmiyy/  
 'a Tamimite man'

As can be seen from these two sets of examples, the relational  
 adjective (RA) in (1) is kept distinct from that of (2)  
 in two ways:

- (i) First and foremost the (RA) is always definite  
 following the modified noun status, as in (1), while the  
 (RA) is indefinite, thus showing a concord with the head  
 noun as in (2).
- (ii) Though both sets show that the function of the (RA)  
 is syntactically similar (i.e. attributive), it is  
 semantically different (i.e. identification vs. classification).  
 In Set (I) the function of (RA) is identification, since  
 the function of the article is to characterise the (RA)  
 as being confined to the semantic meaning that identifies  
 the modified noun, while in (II) the function of (RA) is

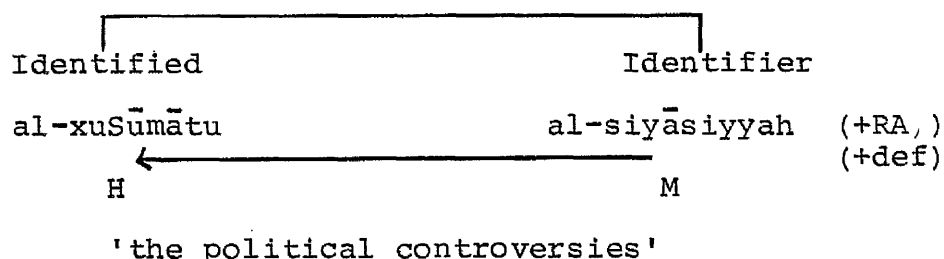
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(1) Asad, ibid., p.572, verse 195.

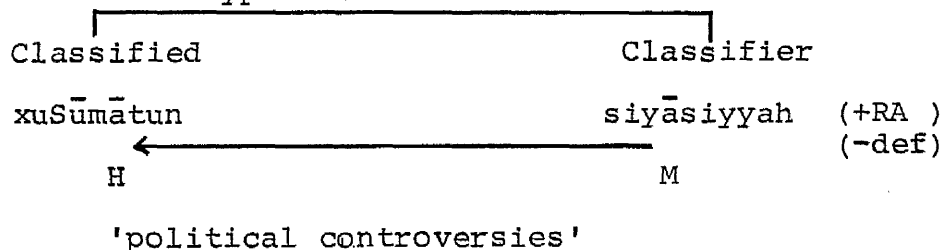
classification in the sense that it classifies the head noun as being a member of the class of modifier (RA). In other words, the semantic interpretation which (I) is given is different from that of (II). The simple explanation of (I) is that the writer is giving identification to the head noun by expressing its identity. In this case, the head noun is identified by the (IRA). As for (II), the head noun is being classified by its association with the (CRA).

This difference between (I) and (II) is shown as follows:

#### Type I: Identification



#### Type II: Classification



Utilising such an explanation, the relationship obtaining between the two elements in a structure embracing central adjective and the other involving relational adjective shows that if we substitute one for another, i.e. central for relational and vice versa, morphological

and semantic differences (central/qualitative and relational/identified or classified interpretations) would result.

Since each of them has its own form and function. Compare, for instance, the following two examples:

a) /...xāSSatan fī al-siʔri al-qadīm/

'especially in the old poetry'

b) /...xāSSatan fī al-siʔri al-jāhiliyy/

'especially in the pre-Islamic poetry'

The distinction, however, between the two types is unambiguously indicated above. The implication here is that the central adjective occurring with relational adjectives in a structure of modification comes immediately after them. That is to say, central adjectives like jalīl 'venerable' in sayxun qurasiyyun jalīl 'a venerable and Qurashian sheikh', follows the relational adjective qurasiyy qurashian, as it should be, since one is semantically classificatory and the other qualitative; this has also been seen when an adjective occurs with occupational nouns and the like, such as al-ʔādilu 'the just' in ʔaliyyun al-qādī al-ʔādil 'Ali, the just judge' one is semantically determinative and the other qualitative. This view may be expressed in the following quotation:

"The semantic hypothesis holds that the order of adjectives is explicable on semantic rather than grammatical grounds." (1)

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(1) See Sussex, R., The Deep Structure of Adjectives in Noun Phrases, J.L. Vol. 10, p.114.

Thus the structure of relational nominal phrase followed by an attributive adjective is fairly fixed:

- 1a) /lā tamassu al-tafkīra al-ʿaqliyya al-xālis/  
'It does not touch pure intellectual thinking'

but not

- 1b) /lā tamassu al-tafkīra al-xāliSa al-ʿaqliyy/  
1c) /bābun xasabiyyun jamīl/  
'a beautiful wooden door'

but not

- 1d) /bābun jamīlun xasabiyy/

while the sequence of two relational adjectives following a head noun can be reversed.

- 2a) /tataqqafa bi al-taqāfati al-ʿajnabiyyati  
al-ʿurubbiyyah/  
'He was educated according to the European  
(foreign) culture'  
2b) /tataqqafa bi al-taqāfati al-ʿurubbiyyati al-ʿajnabiyyah/  
'He was educated according to the foreign European  
culture'  
3a) /al-ʿālamu al-ʿāsyawiiyyu al-ʿafrīqiyy/  
'the Afro-Asian world'  
3b) /al-ʿālamu al-ʿafrīqiyyu al-ʿāsyawiiyy/  
'the Asian-African world'

As the representations of 1(a) and (c) show, the order of the elements involved cannot be transposed when the relational adjective is followed by a central adjective. The sequence is thus conditioned by the concomitance of two different adjective-classes. The order, therefore,

of 1(b) and (d) violates the normal sequence of the nominal phrase. Such violations would result in unusual sequences.

A noticeable feature of type (2) is that the more common sequence appears when one (RA) is general and the other particular: i.e. the particular follows the general one and only specifies the general adjective. In this way, Arabic has what can be called 'focal adjectives'; they are mostly implied in a previous attributive adjective and their semantic function is to express an afterthought. They are often characterized as being semantically specified adjectives and their main syntactic feature is their occurrence immediately after a semantically general adjective, as in 2(a). For focus reasons this focal adjective can be moved backward so as to precede the general adjective where it would carry contrastive stress, as in 2(b). Generally speaking, this idea of narrowing the semantic range of a general element may be represented by these two quotations:

"Elements as they are added one by one to form a sentence, progressively limit the semantic range of all that has preceded. This causes beginning elements to have a wider semantic range than elements towards the end." (1)

"When the first word appears, the possibilities are vastly reduced, but that first word has, in communicative value for the hearer, its fullest possible semantic range. The second word follows, narrowing the range, the third comes to narrow it still further..." (2)

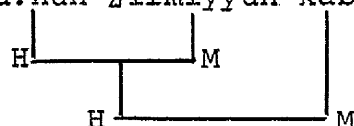
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(1) and (2) Bolinger, E.L., Linear Modification, 1952; reprinted 1965 Forms of English. Tokyo, Hoknou Publishing Company, pp.279 and 281.

As to the order of (3), the sequence is not subject to syntactical rules as the order of these adjectives, and the like can be reordered in any sequence, the resulting difference being one of stylistic representation (see order of adjectives below). The essential characteristics of order are given here in order to show this subclass of adjectives in various modification patterns, the essential characteristic of which depend on the realizations of order. Thus we establish the following patterns of modification.

1 - N + RA + A

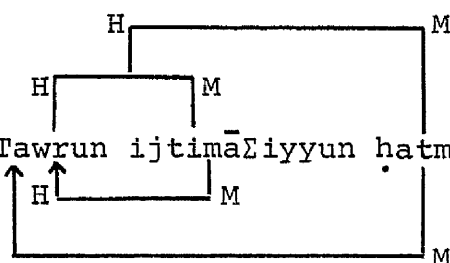
/kāna limadīnatay al-ḥijāzi saʔnun ʔilmiyyun kabīr/



'The two cities of al-ḥijāz played an important scientific role'

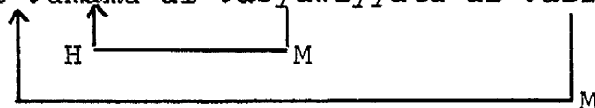
2 - N + RA + RA

a) /Tawru al-badāwati Tawrun ijtimāʔiyyun ḥatmiyy/



'The nomadic time is an inevitable social time'

b) /al-ʔumamu al-ʔāsyawīyyatu al-ʔafriqiyyah/



'the Asian and African nations'

As has already been analyzed, in (1) the attributive adjective, which occurs in strict grammatical sequence,



semantically modifies the whole of the preceding NP. The same thing could be said about 2(a) being the whole NP modified by the last (RA) in a string of relational adjectives. In 2(b), the two relational adjectives individually modify the head noun, since they can be reordered without breaking rules.

These different grammatical functions and modification patterns may be due to the fact that these structures fall into two main types: Broken and unbroken: where the former can be assigned by comma or a coordinator or unfixed order as in Tawru al-badāwati Tawrun ijtīmāʿiyyun wa ḥatmiyy, or al-ʔumamu al-ʔāsyawiyyatu wa, al-ʔafriqiyyah or al-ʔumamu al-ʔafriqiyyatu al-ʔāsyawiyyah, and the latter is represented by fixed order without any connective, as in (1) above. This may be suggested by being in a sequence of relational adjectives similar to that of attributive adjectives which can be broken, such as ʿālimun zariyyun waḍīʿ 'a miserable and humble scholar', to ʿālimun zariyyun, waḍīʿ or ʿālimun zariyyun wa waḍīʿ or ʿālimun waḍīʿun zariyy. (1)

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(1) Footnote: It should be mentioned that our treatment of relational adjectives like 2(a) above which has two structural representations of modification as breakable may come under argument as to whether this sequence is breakable or not since the break in this representation of relational adjectives is sometimes unlikely to occur, and would seem, on the basis of investigation, to differ from informant to informant.

On this point Sussex says:

"The distinction between broken and unbroken strings (also called 'stacks') is not commonly made, and yet it involves some important syntactic and semantic differences." (1)

This statement in general is applicable to a string of adjectives in CA.

However, we must distinguish between those relational adjectives, which act with personal head nouns, and those relational adjectives, which act with non-personal nouns. The former can replace the head noun, the latter cannot; with few exceptions e.g. relational adjectives which are derived from nationality words or those with generic reference. This syntactic criterion is based on the fact that relational adjectives are either independent or dependent according to whether or not their use as a head noun is syntactically permissible. The one which can function as a head noun is said to be independent, as it can stand on its own, the other is dependent on the head noun. Thus, the following three pairs of examples can therefore be representatives:

- 1a) /istirābū al-jugrāfiyyu al-kabīr/  
'the distinguished, geographer Strab'

can be

- 1b) /al-jugrāfiyyu al-kabīr/  
'the distinguished geographer'

---

(1) Sussex, The Deep Structure..., op.cit., p.112.

2a) /al-manTiqu al-ʔarisTiyyu al-qiyāsiyy/

'the analogous Aristotelian logic'

but not

2b) \*/al-ʔarisTiyyu al-qiyāsiyy/

3a) /darasa al-lugata al-miSriyyata al-qadīmah/

'He learnt the old, Egyptian language'

3b) /darasa al-miSriyyata al-qadīmah/

'He learnt the old Egyptian (language)'

The relational adjectives (al-juḡrāfiyy) and (al-miSriyyah) representing the syntactic functions of the head noun are called independent, since they could syntactically replace their head nouns (istirābū) and (al-lugah), as in 1(b) and 3(b) (but not in all semantic interpretations by the presence of (istirābū) and (al-lugah)). The relational adjective (al-ʔarisTiyy) in (2) is dependent in character, (since it could not fulfill the noun-headed function) and this is a sign of the justification for operating only in M position, but not as the head, because of the definite non-personal head noun.

Keeping these characteristics in mind, we shall see under the following subheading that such structures are transposed for focus reasons. This focus type is set out from an unmarked order in a particular way of structural realization. Focus, therefore, is (a result of syntactic/semantic structure) of reordering an unmarked structure.

D) The Focus basis

Attributive adjectives in general (in NP) can be focussed by being transposed, the phonological effect of which is to assign considerable stress to the transposed item. This is the typical way of focussing an element. However, the focussed component has the feature of identifying the head noun as semantically the "recipient" of the quality being expressed. The following types of structures are witness of this point:

- 1a) /istushida sulaymānu al-ḥalabiyyu al-jasūr/  
'Solaiman the bold Aleppine was martyred'
- 1b) /istushida al-jasūru sulaymānu al-ḥalabiyy/  
'The bold man, Solaiman the Aleppine was martyred...'
- 1c) /istushida al-ḥalabiyyu al-jasūru sulayman/  
'The bold Aleppine, Solaiman was martyred'
- 2a) /wa al-mashūru Ḥan dīkārtā ?annahu ?imāmu al-falsafati  
al-?ūrubbiyyati al-ḥadītah/  
'It was known about Descartes that he was the leader  
of modern European philosophy'
- 2b) \*/wa al-mashūru Ḥan dīkārtā ?annahu ?imāmu  
al-?ūrubbiyyati al-falsafati al-ḥadītah/  
'It was known about Descartes that he was the leader  
of modern European philosophy'
- 2c) \*/wa al-mashūru Ḥan dīkārtā ?annahu ?imāmu al-ḥadītati  
al-falsafati al-?ūrubbiyyah/  
'It was known about Descartes that he was the leader  
of modern European philosophy'
- 3a) /wa intaSarāt al-lugatu al-Ḥarabiyyatu al-sāḥirah/  
'and the perceptive Arabic language won the battle'
- 3b) /wa intaSarāt al-Ḥarabiyyatu al-lugatu al-sāḥirah/  
'and Arabic, the perceptive language won the battle'
- 3c) \*/wa intaSarati al-sāḥiratu al-Ḥarabiyyatu al-lugah/  
'and Arabic, the perceptive language won the battle'

What is of immediate concern to us here is that the above transposition, which is an aspect of the study of focus, takes place in definite nominal phrase types. This kind of structuring which is realized by the transposition of one or more elements, is dependent on what has been illustrated above: the focus therefore is assigned to the transposed definite adjective and thus represents the possibility of a definite element being transposed. All the above examples conform to this fact. This consideration will consequently rule out the possibility of an indefinite adjective being focussed, since the transposition of an indefinite element would produce an ungrammatical structure (as the situation with a generic definite noun) (see pp. 292-294). Again consider:

- a) /wa lam yakūnā min sulālatin ʔarabiyyah/  
'and they were not descended from an Arab race'
- b) \*/wa lam yakūnā min ʔarabiyyatin sulālah/
- c) /yūnusu baSriyy/  
'Yūnus is Baṣriyy'  
\*baSriyyun yūnus

The transposition, in general, of this example and the previous examples which are marked by the asterisks are syntactically impossible on the grounds that the adjective involved is not transposable, since it is not of free-will order.

Another general point to be mentioned here is that a relational type of modification that requires careful ordering when the modifying item follows the modified noun avoids discontinuity: put differently, a constraint on relational adjectives exists, that is, when it does not tolerate discontinuity. Thus, the insertion of any element between a relational adjective and the head noun which it modifies is not permissible. Consider:

/wa jāʔati al-ḥurriyyatu al-siyāsiyyatu baʔda al-ʔislāh/  
'Political freedom came after the remedying'

\*/wa jāʔat al-ḥurriyyatu al-muṭlaqatu al-siyāsiyyatu  
baʔda al-ʔislāh/

/turātun ʔarabiyyun kabīr/  
'An Arab inheritance is large'

\*/turātun ʔadīmun ʔarabiyyun kabīr/  
/gaḍbatun ʔarabiyyatun quraṣiyyah/  
'a qurashian and Arab anger'

\*/gaḍbatun ṣadīdatun ʔarabiyyatun quraṣiyyah/

Having shown different types of positive adjectives and their relatable syntactic/semantic sub-classifications, i.e. attributive/qualitative, attributive/determinative and attributive/identified or classified, it is important at this point to realise that attributive adjectives are subject to further subclassification, i.e. they can be subclassified semantically into intensive and non-intensive groups in accordance with their mode of functioning namely intensively or non-intensively.

E) Intensive type

Under the previous heading of attributive adjectives, we dealt with two associated functions: attributive and qualitative, or attributive and determinative or attributive and identified or classified. Under this heading, another function is described, i.e. intensive versus non-intensive. The term intensive rests upon the assumption that adjectives, which have intensive form or rather show an intensive type of attribution on the head noun they modify, are related to transitive or intransitive intensive verbs (with few exceptions). In other words, the attributive adjective can be formed and assigned an intensive feature by patterns and relation.

Aḡab grammarians<sup>(1)</sup> in CA assume that adjectives operating in intensive forms<sup>(2)</sup> are of certain patterns, most of them being derived from transitive plain verbs. But I would say nowadays that intensive adjectives are in fact relatable to intensive verbs<sup>(3)</sup> (be it transitive or intransitive). For this feature, a semantic subclass of attributive adjectives can be distinguished: i.e. "intensifiers" as illustrated by the following examples:

- a) /rajulun hayyābah/
- 'a very fearful man'

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(1) See Kuḡeel, A.H., al-tibyānu fī taSrīfi al-ʔasmāʔ The explanation in conjugation of nouns, part I, Second edition, 1965, pp.50,51.

(2) For more information about the intensive forms of adjectives see Wright, op.cit., vol.I, pp.137-140.

(3) Note that the intensity of a verb can be realized by form or by an adverb such as kaṡīran and dimatan and daʔiman.

- b) /rajulun miDyāf/
- 'a very hospitable man'
- c) /rajulun misʕaru hurub/
- 'a war-like man'
- d) /saxSun Tawwāf/
- 'a much travelled fellow'
- e) /nārun huTamah
- 'a very destructive fire'
- f) /sāʕirun sikkīr/
- 'a hard drinking poet'
- g) /ʔarDun ʕasibah/
- 'a very grassy land'
- h) /ʕabdun sakūr/
- 'a very thankful servant (of God)'
- i) /ḥākimun baSīr/
- 'a very discerning ruler'
- j) /yawmun ʕaSīb/
- 'a woeful day' (1)

The elements underlined above bear evidence to the fact that the adjectives involved are related to transitive intensive verbs as in (a), (b), (c) and (e) and to intransitive intensive verbs as in (d) and (f-j). (2)

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.327, verse 77.

(2) Footnote: Note the verbs which the intensive adjectives are relatable to tahayyab 'to be afraid', Dayyafa 'to take in a guest', saʕʕara 'to start a war', taTawwfa 'to go round much, ḥaTTamat 'to destroy', tasakkara 'to be drunk', iʕsawsaba 'to be grassy', tasakkar 'to thank', tabaSSāra 'to discern' and iʕSawSaba 'to be tight hand'



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This marks the difference between intensive and non-intensive types below.

In spite of the formal considerations that contribute to the setting up of an intensive type; it can be taken as features shared by all words of the patterns: those of intensifying adjectives, nouns and general adjectives. The distinction is made between them, by lexical interpretation, not by morphological shape, so it is possible when extracting a word from a structured context to assign it to one or the other, this decision being determined by the form of the lexical item and its class membership. Thus, for instance, the word *makkār* out of the example *?innahu rajulun makkār* 'surely he is a (very) cunning man', is an intensive adjective, *ḥammāl* out of *ḥādā rajulun ḥammāl* 'This is a porter (man)', and *majjān* out of *ḥādā say?an laka majjān* 'This is a free thing for you', are occupational noun and general adjective respectively. Further, the decision to use one rather than another may depend on the functional opposition that each type would reflect in the NP.

Being intensive terms, forms must contain highly specialized meaning and function in the NP as intensifier that serve syntactically in all the ways that any noun or general adjective does (i.e. modifier) such as *gaDūb* in *imra?atun gaDūb* 'a very irritable woman' and *ḥadir* in *rajulun ḥadir* 'a very careful man', are intensive representation in every sense, for they show in exactly

the same characteristics as are described above. They are, however, in contrast with nouns and general adjectives of the same patterns, which have no intensity. That is to say, there are a large number of nouns and general adjectives in which the same patterns are applied, but the intensity is precluded. To take for example, sammāk in (lahu) ibnun sammāk 'He has a fisherman (son)' can be analyzed as a combination of morphological pattern faʕʕāl and the plain noun, and mayyās in guʕnun mayyās 'a swinging branch' is analyzable as holding pattern faʕʕāl and plain adjective. The following table presents our point, detailing what has been assumed:

Pattern	Class	Ex.	Function
faʕʕāl	adj.	...fatan maTTāl 'a very deferring boy'	intensive
	noun	...rajulun farrā? 'a furrier man'	non-intensive
	adj.	kalāmūn jaddāb 'an attractive speech'	non-intensive
faʕīl	adj.	bigulāmin ʕalīm 'a son who would be endowed with deep knowledge'	intensive
	noun	imraʔatun Sadiq 'a friend woman'	non-intensive
	adj.	...rasūlun karīm 'a noble apostle'	non-intensive

...Continued ...

Pattern	Class	Ex.	Function
faṣūl	adj	...imraʔatun naʔūm 'a very sleepy woman'	intensive
	noun	...malakan rasūlā '...an angel out of heaven as our apostle'	non-intensive
	adj.	...rajulun ḥaṣūr 'utterly chaste man'	non-intensive
faṣīl	adj.	...qawmun xaṣimūn 'contentious folk'	intensive
	noun	...malikin malikin ʕaḍīm 'a great king'	non-intensive
	adj.	ṭawbun najis 'a dirty dress'	non-intensive
fayṣīl	adj.	rajulun nayyiq 'a very fastidious man'	intensive
	noun	...gulāman sayyidā 'a master boy'	non-intensive
	adj.	...ʔilā balādin mayyit 'towards dead land'	non-intensive

The examples furnished above illustrate that intensive adjectives are identified by having forms which refer to a quality thought of as having special semantic value, i.e. the value of intensity is made certain through

using forms perceived in terms of an ordinal scale. Therefore, these adjectives can be graded semantically: intensive adjectives occupy a very high point on the intensity scale.

Moreover, as it will be illustrated below a word class of adjectives can be established in CA, syntactic and morphological grounds are given to substantiate this claim; as the adjective being modified by the adverbs *jidd* or *jiddan* 'very' and *haqq* or *haqqan* 'really', can be used markedly with the plain non-intensive in question (see also Chapter 4 on quantifiers), where *jidd* 'very'... and *haqq* 'very great', are pre-posed in elegant style, and indeed they show an absolute type of intensity.

Considering this criterion, an important distinction is drawn between adjectives of intensive form and those of plain form, when using these adverbs as a marking device of intensity. That is to say, after an accurate investigation into the combination of these adverbs with an adjective, we arrive at this criterion. Such intensive forms of the adjective, which exhibit the intensive morphological form are in syntactical contrast with plain adjective modified by adverbs, although semantically equivalent. Thus, the phrase *karīmun jiddan in rajulun karīmun jiddan* 'a very generous man', is recognizable as a plain adjective + intensive. Compare, for example, the following two groups:

1 - Intensive form:

a) /ʔinna hādā laṣayʔun ʔujāb/

'Truly, this is a very amazing thing'

but not

b) \*ʔinna hādā laṣayʔun ʔujābun jiddan\*

a) /ʔinnahu rajulun Duḥakah/

'Surely, he is a man who laughs a lot'

but not

b) \*/ʔinnahu rajulun(jiddu) Duḥakah\*  
(ḥaqqu)

2 - Plain form:

a) /hādā ṣayʔun ʔajīb/

'This is an amazing thing'

b) /hādā ṣayʔun ʔajībun (jiddan)/  
(ḥaqqan)

'This is (a very) amazing thing'  
(really)

a) /samiʔnā kalāman balīgā/

'We heard an eloquent speech'

b) /samiʔnā kalāman (jidda) balīg/  
(ḥaqqā)

'We heard (a very ) eloquent speech'  
(very great)

These examples, which reflect the accepted usage of the intensive adjectives, occur typically in what is labelled here the 'intensive type'. The first group represents intensive types having various forms of internal marking, in lieu of, the presence of an external intensifying term. (However, there is a limited number of words which have lexically intensive meaning with no



'a drunk man', and others represent general adjectives such as al-baxīl 'the greedy', in al-kātibu al-baxīl 'the greedy writer'.

Note that all these kinds of adjective come from intransitive tripartite plain verbs, as all occupational nouns are taken from plain verbal nouns. Thus the nominal phrase in which they occur carries no intensive distinction.

The semantic polyvalency of adjectives, namely its effective values, may be related to verbs which denote stative or non-stative, four of which are given above, (in all these cases the semantic term must be carried out by a plain adjective). This statement allows us to introduce a vast bifurcation of adjectives into stative and non-stative. The further explanation of this division will be given in the discussion of active/passive participles.

In using stative/dynamic terms, however, I am following here Quirk's description. He justly argues that stative as well as dynamic adjectives are contrastingly assigned,

"stative and dynamic adjectives differ in a number of ways. For example, a stative adjective such as "tall" cannot be used with the progressive aspect or with the imperative \*He's being tall, \*Be tall. In contrast, we can use careful as a dynamic adjective: He is being careful, Be careful." (1)

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(1) Quirk, A University Grammar... op.cit., p.124.

Similarly, stative adjectives in CA can be characterized by applying progressive aspect or by introducing the imperative auxiliary kun 'be', but not with the dynamic ones. Such a device can be applied to the language under consideration, the difficulties lie only in the fact that the adjectives in question are derived from verbs. Whatever the case may be, the adjective has a manifest semantic connection with a verbal concept, as is the case with participles (see below). What is meant by this will be represented by the following exemplifications:

- 1a) /hāḍihi al-samakatu al-Tawīlatu al-ṢarīḌah/  
       'This wide and tall fish' (permanent state)
- 1b) /baytun wāsiḤ/  
       'a large house' (permanent state)
- 2a) /waladun naṣīṬ/  
       'an active boy' (dynamic aspect)
- 2b) /al-ḥārisu al-yaqīḌ/  
       'the alert guard' (dynamic aspect)

The syntactic structure for (1) and (2) is essentially the same. However the semantic opposition which is called stative and dynamic is clearly justifiable, if the adjective cannot be used with either progressive aspect (which is implicitly marked by the adverb alʔāna 'now') or the verb kun 'be', it will be appropriately stative, by contrast with the dynamic which is the 'marked' term of this aspectual opposition, by one of the two criteria. Compare, for instance, the following examples:



- 1a) \*/hādihi al-samakatu al-Tawīlatu al-ẒarīDatu (al-?ān)  
 \*'This is being the wide and tall fish (now)'  
 \*/kūni al-Tawīlata al-ẒarīDah/  
 \*'Be wide and tall'
- 1b) \*/baytun wāsiṢun (al-?ān)/  
 'A house is being large (now)'  
 \*/kun wāsiṢan/  
 \*'Be large'
- 2a) /waladun naṣīTan (al-?ān)/  
 'This boy is being active (now)'  
 kun naṣīTan/  
 'Be active'
- 2b) /... al-hārisu al-yaqiDu (al-?ān)/  
 'The guard who is being alert (now)'  
 /kun yaqiDan/  
 'Be alert'

Given these examples we conclude:

stative value	dynamic value
<u>-auxiliary kun</u>	<u>+auxiliary kun</u>
-progressive aspect	+progressive aspect

Therefore, unmarked and marked considerations determine the appropriate aspectual values: stative or dynamic, these being the most general characteristics of these two types.

Further, stative adjectives can be given a dynamic use on occasion in order to create conditions of structure. That is to say, in order to convert a stative adjective to dynamic, the adjective must be in a structure of predication and be introduced by the auxiliary Sāra

'to become'. Thus, a change into a new status has its reference. The following quotation from Beeston may shed light on this,

"More important than time is a factor which can be called 'aspectual': this depends on whether the predicate is envisaged dynamically as depicting a change from one situation to another, or statically as depicting a single, ideally 'frozen', 'situation'." (1)

However, in some cases a "stative" adjective can be used in an essentially "dynamic" predicate by using *Sāra* 'to become', i.e.,

- |     |                         |     |                          |
|-----|-------------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| 1a) | /saʔruhu ʔabyaD/        | 2a) | /al-māʔu ʔadb/           |
|     | 'His hair is white'     |     | 'The water is fresh'     |
| 1b) | /Sāra saʔruhu ʔabyaD/   | 2b) | /Sāra al-māʔu ʔadbā/     |
|     | 'His hair became white' |     | 'The water became fresh' |

However, here in 1(b) and 2(b) the feature of 'dynamicness' is assigned exclusively to the verb *Sāra*. The adjectives ʔabyaD and ʔadb remain "stative" in nature.

At another level of classification some adjectives connote a physical condition or state. They are designated to indicate a physical aspect and desirable or undesirable defective characteristics, in contrast with the general adjectives. Since this type of adjective has a special sign relating it to the head noun. Consider:

- |     |                  |                    |
|-----|------------------|--------------------|
| 1a) | /Tiflun jawʔān/  | physical adjective |
|     | 'a hungry child' |                    |

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(1) Beeston, op.cit., p.76.

- 1b) /rajulun ʔaʕraj/ physical adjective  
'a lame man'
- 1c) /imraʔatun ʕaynāʔ/ physical adjective  
'a woman who has  
beautiful and large eyes'
- 2a) /ʔajran hasanā/ normal adjective  
'a goodly reward' (1)
- 2b) /rajulun rasīd/ normal adjective  
'one right-minded man' (2)
- 2c) /qawman būrā/ normal adjective  
'people devoid of all good' (3)

In these, also, formal patterns distinguish the physical adjectives from the others. That is to say, there are distinctive patterns associated with physical adjectives: faʕlān, faʕlā, ʔafʕal and faʕlāʔ. However, these patterns are limited to number of words (see below).

More illustrations on this point:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1a) /rajulun sakrān/<br>'a drunk man'     | 2a) /Tālibun ʔaʕmā/<br>'a blind student'      |
| 1b) /imraʔatun sakrā/<br>'a drunk woman'  | 2b) /fatātun ʕamyāʔ/<br>'a blind girl'        |
| 1c) /Tiḥḥun ʕaṭṣān/<br>'a thirsty child'  | 2c) /ʕūdun ʔaʕwaj/<br>'a curved cane'         |
| 1d) /Tiḥḥatun ʕaṭṣā/<br>'a thirsty child' | 2d) /naxlatun ʕawjāʔ/<br>'a curved palm tree' |

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.787, verse 16.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.327, verse 78.  
(3) Asad, ibid., p.786, verse 12.

- |     |                   |     |                   |
|-----|-------------------|-----|-------------------|
| 1e) | /rajulun gayrān/  | 2e) | /sābbun ʔaxraq/   |
|     | 'a jealous man'   |     | 'an awkward boy'  |
| 1f) | /imraʔatun gayrā/ | 2f) | /sābbatun xarqāʔ/ |
|     | 'a jealous woman' |     | 'an awkward girl' |

Because the performance of intensive and non-intensive is morphologically and semantically indicated, that is, the intensive is expressed by patterns which are derived from intensive transitive/intransitive verbs, whilst the non-intensive is expressed by patterns which are derived from non-transitive verbs, therefore both types can be recognized by the form of the verb to which it is relatable without the risk of misleading.

It is of our concern at this stage to illustrate that adjectives are treated according to their function and form. This point again is made on the basis that some adjectives show by form and function a high degree of intensity, as in *rajulun sakkīr* 'a very heavy drinker', and others have a plain form implying only quality, as in *rajulun sakrān* 'a drunk man'. The same treatment holds true when considering the former as amplifier<sup>(1)</sup> and the latter as 'declarative'. In other words, if the element is denoting the upper extreme of the scale of intensity, the adjective will be assigned to the function 'amplifier', but if the element implies a medial quality, the adjective

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(1) This term is borrowed from Quirk, op.cit., p.216.

will be clearly defined to the function 'declarative'; these two semantic subclasses of adjectives are quoted here for purposes of explanation only.

However, though these types are semantically marked off by the above characteristics, they nevertheless have something in common, their attributive function, irrespective of the differences between them in form and semantic value. Still the essential properties of the types outlined above can be summarized in the following:

- a) The element involved appears in the adjectival form whether it be with or without an intensive feature.
- b) The relationship obtaining between the two elements in the two types of structure differs in such a way that it creates the amplifying value and the corresponding declaration.
- c) The nomenclature 'Amplifier' rests upon the assumption that the adjective is formally assigned the feature "intensive" and is more dependent than the other.
- d) The declarative type in the plain form serves to show a declarative implication and it is less dependent than the amplifying type.

Further illustrations of this can be given: contrast the following examples in which (a) represents the intensive/amplifier and (b) displays the plain/declarative function:

- a) /jaddun Σatūr/
- 'stumbling luck'

- b) /rīhun ʔaqīm/  
'a useless wind'
- a) /ḥarbun ɡasūm/  
'an unjust war'
- b) /jawwun jamīl/  
'beautiful weather'
- a) /baʔata al-jayṣa al-jarrār/  
'He sent a tremendous army'
- b) /fabassarnāhu biḡulāmin ḥalīm/  
'So we gave him the good news of a boy ready to  
suffer and forbear' (1)

Another feature of intensity may arise when a noun and adjective being combined, both of which are relatable to the same root; the adjective indicates distinctive property. A semantic interpretation is assigned, when the two elements are used in a correlative construction; the adjective associated with the noun will denote its emphatic character by virtue of the shared radical.

Consider:

- a) /laylun lāʔil/  
'a very dark night'
- b) /laylatun laylāʔ/  
'a very dark night'
- c) /ʔajabun ʔājib/  
'a very admirable wonder'

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.688, verse 101.

- d) /mawtun māʔit/  
'a very violent death'
- e) /saybun sāʔib/  
'intense whiteness of the hair'
- f) /siʔrun sāʔir/  
'a very perceptive poetry'
- g) /rawDun ʔarīD/  
'a very gardening garden'
- h) /ʔasadun ʔasīD/  
'a very savage lion'
- i) /Sulbun Salīb/  
'a very solid material'
- j) /Sadīqun Sadūq/  
'a very truthful friend'
- k) /Dillun Dalīl/  
'a very shaded shelter'
- l) /ḥirzun ḥarīz/  
'a very guarded refuge'
- m) /kinnun kanīn/  
'a very well kept shelter'

In the above illustration we attempted to give a brief description of intensity by the representation of syntagmatic and semantic relations. That is to say, an intensive feature is a representation based on syntagmatic relations such as sequence of classes (abstract noun followed by an adjective) giving a structure of modification and semantic considerations such as intensified noun-intensifier relations. The aim of illustrating this point is to prove

in structural terms that the aspect of intensity which rests on syntagmatic/semantic relations can be achieved by the process other than the formal one. Here the recognition of a semantically intensive type is quite easy, although the intensive features are not formally designated. The specification of this type of intensity is in terms of semantic-syntagmatic features.

F) The morpho-syntactic features

In CA, it is necessary when dealing with the modifications outlined above to set up the four grammatical categories. These are the morpho-syntactic features which mark concord between the head noun and its modifiers. Thus, the primary characteristics of positive adjectives is their ability to modify and agree in concordial relations (gender, number, case and definiteness) with the head noun they modify. Each one of these grammatical categories has contrasting subcategories which are kept distinct by specific features e.g. masculine and feminine features and so on. The choice of one rather than another in terms of the 'agreement' of the adjective is determined by the head noun (see below). Having said that, we can consider the following quotation,

"How then are such categories defined? The answer lies in treating them as 'morpho-syntactic' categories. By this I mean that they are all marked both morphologically (in the form of the word) and syntactically, by relations to other words in the sentence." (1)

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(1) Palmer, F., Grammar, op.cit., 1971, p.84.



What is important here is that although there are difficulties in using this complex grammatical system, this system works formally in CA and units consisting of positive adjective with the noun are in a fairly fixed order and are regulated by these grammatical features. Since the concord-government is imposed on the adjective by the head noun, the involvement of these grammatical categories in establishing the structure of modification is necessary. Here we differ slightly from Palmer, where he says:

"Thus, in languages where there is a fairly fixed order of words, and where that order indicates the grammatical relations between the words, concord and government would appear to be unnecessary luxuries (or difficulties)." (1)

To illustrate our discussion, the examples are given below as representatives:

(1) /hamalat hamlan xafīfan (masc. sing. indef. accus.)  
'She conceives (what at first is) a light burden' (2)

(2) /min maDāhiri haDāratihim madīnatāni qadīmatān/  
(fem. dual indef. nom.)  
'Among the manifestation of their culture are two ancient cities'

(3) /marartu biriġālin kirāmin/ (masc. pl. indef. gen.)  
'I passed by noble men'

Yet although these examples show that positive adjectives have four-fold concordial relations, we may

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(1) Ibid., p.105.

(2) Asad, op.cit., p.233, verse 189.

have an adjective of two or three-fold concordial relations.

These are represented as follows:

- (4) /iqtanā al-kutuba al-nafīsata/ (-masc. -pl. + def. accus)  
'He has got the valuable books'
- (5) /iqtanā al-kutuba al-nafīsati/ (-masc. +pl. + def. +  
accus.  
in gen.  
marker)  
'He has got the valuable books'

The peculiar thing here is that if we compare the concordial relations in these examples with their counterparts in the above we see that the adjective in (4) and (5), which is morpho-syntactically controlled by the head noun, shows the features of concord rather loosely, i.e. it has two out of four concordial relations, as in (4) and three out of four, as in (5).

In languages which have gender distinction and where the masculine/singular are unmarked but feminine and plural are marked morphologically i.e. involve a definite affix, you may sometimes find that the modifier does not show concord with feminine or plural (with certain modifiers) i.e. imraʔatun ḥāmil 'a pregnant woman' but you would never find the reverse i.e. non-concord shows a morphologically unmarked head, with marking on the modifier i.e. \*rajulun ṣaḍīmah.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Footnote: In Arabic the unmarked terms are masculine/singular and third person faʔala (unmarked morphologically) e.g. dahaba 'went' = third, masc., sing. (only in the past tense).

Further, a much more striking point is the possibilities of condition. For instance, although each applied category is carried out morphologically at word-level it turns out that the grammatical category is used only for the restricted correlation that is manifested in syntactic relation, i.e. in marking concordial relationship between the head noun and its modifiers.

Note that, in discussing the grammatical categories we do not intend to go much further than presenting their specific implications for NP structures. This is not intended as a detailed description of their complex system and the concordial relationships which provide a future thesis for dealing with concord. It is meant here solely to treat them in connection with the subject under study. However, for the categories of number and gender concord that is obtained between the two elements in a structure of modification, we have the following explanation.

G) Number/Gender

As we have mentioned briefly above, number/gender concord are formal features of a structure of modification; with the proviso that the elements concerned are a head noun with a positive adjective. These two categories are an essential part of marking the syntactic relationship between the two terms involved. In other words, they strengthen through formal agreement, the relation between the two constituents of modification: the head noun and the modifier.

Looking into examples of noun-positive adjective phrases in these two categories, some examples will be fully representative of number and gender but others less so, and if we look at the less representative we shall find that they have to be represented in rather unexpected ways. For example:

- 1 - Fully representative number/gender
  - a) /sāfara al-murāsilāni al-ʔajnabiyyāni ʔilā bayrūt/  
'The two foreign correspondents travelled to Beirut'
  - b) /fīhimā ʔaynāni naDDāxatān/ . . . . .  
'In (each of) these two (gardens) will two springs gush forth' (1)
  - c) /al-muʔallimūna al-muxliṣūna . mahbūbūn/  
'The devoted teachers are lovable'
  - d) /al-muʔallimātu al-muxliṣātu mahbūbāt/  
'The devoted teachers are lovable'
  - e) /wa ʔarsala ʔalayhim Tayran ʔabābīl/  
'Thus, He let loose upon them great swarms of flying creatures' (2)
- 2 - Less representative of number/gender
  - a) /ʔashābu al-qulūbi al-ḡakiyyah/  
'those of intelligent minds'
  - b) /al-rijālu al-qawīyyah/  
'the strong men'

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.828, verse 66.  
 (2) Asad, op.cit., p.976, verse 3.

3 - Non-representative of Number

a) /al-nufūsu al-ʔabiyyah/

'lofty-minded'

b) /al-fatayātu al-faḡīrah/

'the poor girls'

4 - Misrepresentative of Gender

a) /ḥadihi fatātun Sabūr/

'This is a patient girl'

b) /ḥadihi imraʔatun mihdār/

'This is a prattling woman'

Because of this the divisive distribution of concordial relations, the two elements of which are number and gender concord, will be referred to as equal types and those two elements, in which the modifier shows contradictive status to the head noun, are called loose types.

However, for the sake of justification, we speak from observation, these grammatical categories are regarded as syntactic requirements, though to a varying degree they are associated with the structure of modification. In other words, the two categories: number and gender, though a very widespread one in the majority of languages, are by no means syntactic requirements. To quote:

"Nevertheless, in the majority of languages, and to varying degrees, just as paradigm differences in word forms parallel and supplement syntactic differences in the establishment of word classes, so syntactic relationships between members of word classes are accompanied by



- a) In both types (1) and (2) the underlined elements are the exponents of the head noun and modifier.
- b) The distinctive feature of the nominal phrases under (1) is such that their head nouns and modifiers show an entire concord, that is, the modifier has the same status as the head noun in regard to number and gender while the nominal phrases under (2) are in a loose concord since the modifier involved is contradicted by the head noun in number and gender or in one of them.
- c) The striking point here is that in nominal phrases marked (2a) and (2b), though the modifiers differ formally with the head noun, they are well formed; since their difference is a matter of morphological contradiction that does not affect the structural relations. In fact, these represent an unexpected combination. So the term loose concord is applied.

Again, we do not propose, in discussing gender and number, to give them full treatment. Our purpose is rather to demonstrate the syntactic context where each might occur.

However, it is convenient here to refer to the fact that a missing relationship of modification is made in the following constructions, because the gender-concord is misrepresented in the adjective form. This constitutes a violation of the concordial rule which says: adjectives agree (in gender, number, case and definiteness) with the noun they modify. Thus, an adjective which modifies a

noun must be marked by grammatical categories corresponding to the status of the modified noun. So, the unacceptability of the structures:

- a) \*/?innahu waladun qawiyyatun/ (sing.masc + sing.fem.)
- b) \*/?innahā bintun qawiy/ (sing.fem. + sing.masc.)

is due to the non-grammatically-variable realization of the adjective in a structure which must have the appropriate configuration of marking in the function of modification in the nominal phrases, on account of the parity of status between the two terms. In other words, the above structures are unacceptable: they break the grammatical stipulation of gender concord; the violation of this rule is correlated with the misrepresentation of the two adjectives in (a) and (b).

For the sake of giving support to our discussion we give more illustrations, the category of gender, although an intricate system, is introduced to show an identical relation between two members of nominal phrase. To put it differently, grammatical gender reveals itself in morphological forms introduced to represent an identical relation, or as Foder says,

"Genus therefore is a grammatical category that manifests itself in morphological divisions brought about on the members of syntagmatic units standing in identical relation to each other (chiefly subject-predicate or Attributive - qualified word)... Genus is a syntactic phenomenon exhibiting morphological features." (1)

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(1) Foder, The Origin of Grammatical Gender I, lingua 8, 1959, p.2.



In this, the morphological feature is a requisite representation of a syntactic phenomenon, namely there is an incorporated performance between the syntactic terms and the morphological forms in giving a structural configuration.

On the other hand, the same constraint is applied to number concord, as was stated above, adjective in the "positive structure" require another category with respect to syntactic association usually called number. It accounts for the forms exhibited by singular, dual and plural. The contrast in such cases is only between unmarked singular and marked dual and plural. In this manner number represents the control over the forms of noun and adjective that stand for head and modifier in concordial relation with one another, i.e. /al-rajulu al-Tawīl/ 'the tall man', /al-rajulāni al-Tawīlān/ 'the two tall men', and /al-rijālu al-Tiwāl/ 'the tall men', show concord of number between the two syntactic counterparts in each example, as well as gender.

And since this numerical status in CA is a linguistic characteristic of the concordial relation between the head noun and the modifier; the absence of numerical marker-concord will produce unacceptable nominal phrases. Consider for example

- a) \*/al-waladāni al-nabig/ (masc. dual + masc. sing.)
- b) \*/al-bintāni al-nābigah/ (fem. dual + fem. sing.)

In (a) and (b) the two elements are numerically varied, i.e., in each one the head noun is dual and the modifier is singular, and as such produce unacceptable structures of modification.

To recapitulate, the foregoing discussion shows that either gender or number, by its role as a mark of syntactic feature of relationship, plays an important role in the structure of noun + adjective.

With respect to number-concord, the Arabic language is similar to Spanish and French (if we ignore the dual form). In this connection we may refer to Hockett whose definition of concord is based upon the manifestation of the category of number on the elements accounting for identical relations:

"Concord (often called agreement) is found in endocentric constructions, and in a tie that cuts across hierarchical structure to link certain predicate attributes to subjects. In Spanish, both nouns and adjectives are inflected for number. When an adjective is used as attribute to a noun, the noun and the adjective agree, or are in concord, as to number."(1)

Or as Robins puts it:

"..., but in addition adjectives and the article le/l'/the (singular) and les/le/the (plural), show variations in number according to the number of the noun with which they are syntactically associated."(2)

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- (1) See Hockett, C.F. A Course in Modern Linguistics, 1958, pp.214-15.  
(2) Robins, op.cit., p.232.

The following examples will substantiate this point.

Arabic:

- a) /...gulāman zakiyyā/ (masc.sing. + masc.sing.)  
'...a son endowed with purity' (1)
- b) /...kalimatin xabīṭatin/ (fem.sing. + fem.sing.)  
'...a corrupt word' (2)
- a) /...liḡulāmayni yatīmayn/ (masc.dual + masc.dual)  
'...to two orphan boys' (3)
- b) /...rāḥatayki al-Sagīratayn/ (fem.dual + fem.dual)  
'...your two small hands'
- a) /...ṭiyāban xuDrā/ (masc.pl. + masc.pl.)  
'...green garments' (4)
- b) /fatayātun faqīrāt/ (fem.pl. + fem.pl.)  
'poor girls'

Spanish: (5)

- a) /muchacho bueno/ (masc.sing. + masc.sing.)  
'good boy'
- b) /muchacha buena/ (fem.sing. + fem.sing.)  
'good girl'
- a) /muchachos buenos/ (masc.pl. + masc.pl.)  
'good boys'
- b) /muchachas buenas/ (fem.pl. + fem.pl.)  
'good girls'

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.459, verse 19.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.376, verse 26.

(3) Asad, ibid., p.451, verse 82.

(4) Asad, ibid., p.444, verse 31.

(5) For such information on this, see Stieham, B.G.,  
Spanish Word Order in Non-sentence Constructions.  
Language, vol.51, Number I (1975).

French:

- a) /un ~~livre~~ bleu/ (masc.sing. + masc.sing.)  
'a blue book'
- b) /une fenêtre bleue/ (fem.sing. + fem.sing.)  
'a blue window'
- a) /des crayons bleus/ (masc.pl. + masc.pl.)  
'blue pencils'
- b) /des fenêtres bleues/ (fem.pl. + fem.pl.)  
'blue windows'

The above examples are taken from Spanish and French, for the sake of clarification. These exemplifications show that concord, in a sequence of different coordinate nouns and an adjective which modifies them, is determined by the syntactic context, namely the adjective, according to the dominant of the masculine rule, must be in agreement with the masculine noun, e.g. al-fatā wa al-fatātu al-qaSīrān 'the short boy and girl'. The adjective al-qaSīran 'the two short...s' is masculine, in concord with the initial masculine noun al-fatā 'the boy', and dual form in agreement with the preceding two coordinate nouns altogether as one unit (i.e. al-fatā wa al-fatāh 'the boy and the girl'. This consideration applies also to a structure including more than two coordinial nouns, whether their forms are singular or dual or plural.

The same rule applies in French,<sup>(1)</sup> i.e. the adjective qualifying several nouns should be in the plural and masculine form. In French, an adjective qualifying several nouns should be in the plural and in the masculine if the nouns differ in gender.<sup>(2)</sup> Consider:  
le garçon et la fille qui sont courts  
'the short boy and girl'

However, in keeping with the scope of this study, we will explore, according to the formal features and syntactic function, all adjective forms.

To start with, the first and most common form of the adjective is the one that occurs with the pattern "faṣīl". This can be marked by the morpheme (-t) as a differentiating marker of the feminine form, and further displays the usual characteristics of adjectives. Some adjectives of the pattern faṣīl do not show gender variation and have only one form for the singular and dual. In the plural however, gender concord operates and masculine and feminine forms are distinguished. Consider the forms given in Table I.

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- (1) For more on adjective concord in French, see Lyons, J., Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp.239-40.
- (2) This view is quoted by El-Sheikh, S.M. in A Linguistic Analysis of some Syntactic Problems of English-Arabic Translation, Ph.D., University of London, 1977, pp.222-23.

TABLE I: Modifier:adjective:pattern "faʕil"

marked (by morph. (-t) characterization		unmarked characterization	
1a)	/sanatun <u>ḥamīdah</u> / modifier = marked 'a praiseworthy year' adj = fem.sing	1c)	/ʔamrun <u>ḥamīd</u> / modifier = unmarked 'a praiseworthy thing' = masc. sing.
1b)	/xaʕlatun <u>ḍamīmah</u> / modifier = marked 'a dispraised habit' adj = fem.sing.	1d)	/sayʔun <u>ḍamīm</u> / modifier = unmarked 'a dispraised thing' adj. = masc.sing.
2a)	/ḍārāni <u>kabīratān</u> / modifier = marked 'two big houses' adj. = fem. dual	2c)	/baytāni <u>kabīrān</u> / modifier = unmarked 'two big houses' adj = masc.dual
2b)	/bintāni <u>safīhatān</u> / modifier = marked 'two silly girls' adj. = fem.dual	2d)	/waladāni <u>safīḥān</u> / modifier = unmarked 'two silly boys' adj. = masc. dual
3 - Unmarked: feminine			
3a)	/ṣābbatun <u>jarīḥ</u> / modifier = unmarked 'a wounded girl' adj = fem.sing.	3c)	/ṣabbun <u>jarīḥ</u> / modifier = unmarked 'a wounded boy' adj. = masc.sing.
3b)	/Tiflatun <u>qatīl</u> / modifier = unmarked 'a murdered child' adj.=fem.sing.	3d)	/Tiflun <u>qatīl</u> / modifier = unmarked 'a murdered child' adj. = masc.sing.

...continued ...

TABLE I ... CONTINUED ...

4a)	/naʃjatāni <u>dabiḥān</u> /	modifier = unmarked	4c)	/kabsāni <u>dabiḥān</u> /	modifier = unmarked
	'two slaughtered sheep'	adj.=fem.dual		'two slaughtered sheep'	adj. = masc. dual
4b)	/ʔaynāni <u>kahīlān</u> /	modifier = unmarked	4d)	/jafnāni <u>kahīlān</u> /	modifier = unmarked
	'two dyed black eyes'	adj.fem.dual		'two dyed black eyelids'	adj. = masc.dual

Similar to (3) and (4), contrast the above with the following nominal phrases which contain adjectives which do not show gender differentiation.

TABLE 2: Modifier:adjective:pattern "faṣūl"

2a)	/ʔummun <u>Sabūr</u> /	modifier = unmarked	2c)	/ʔabun <u>Sabūr</u> /	modifier = unmarked
	'a very patient mother'	adj.fem.sing.		'a very patient father'	adj. = masc.sing.
2b)	/imraʔatan <u>harūn</u> /	modifier = unmarked	2d)	/raʃulun <u>harūn</u> /	modifier = unmarked
	'a (very) stubborn woman'	adj. fem.sing.		'a (very) stubborn man'	adj. = masc.sing.
3a)	/imraʔatāni <u>ʔajūzān</u> /	modifier = unmarked	3c)	/sayxāni <u>ʔajūzān</u> /	modifier = unmarked
	'two (very) old women'	adj. = fem.dual		'two (very) old sheikhs'	adj. = masc.dual
3b)	/hamātāni waṣūlāni.../	modifier = unmarked	3d)	/hamawāni waṣūlāni.../	modifier = unmarked
	'two inseparable mothers-in-law'	adj.=		'two inseparable fathers-in-law'	adj. =
	fem.dual			masc.dual	

In the following patterns, we try, for the sake of simplicity, to avoid repeating with each and every pattern of the illustrations given above. The adjectives formed on the previous pattern (Table 1) have different shapes. Generally speaking, they appear in two word-features, as in (1) and (2), and one word-feature as in (3) and (4); whereas the others shown in Table 2 have only invariable figure. In order to set out the formal scheme, these adjectives can be classified as follows:

- (i) These show a restricted range of two variable forms which typically occur in what is called "variable adjectives", i.e. morphological variations of an adjective.
- (ii) These show invariable word-forms and collocate equally with both feminine and masculine nouns.
- (iii) In both types, the ending of marked and unmarked feminine adjective-stems, which serves as a stem base to which the external dual morphemes are added, does not show alteration when attaching these number markers, thus contrasting with the patterns  $fu\bar{\lambda}l\bar{a}$  and  $fa\bar{\lambda}l\bar{a}?$  which have internal signs of femininity where the feminine final elements  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{a}?$  are replaced by  $y-$  and  $w$  immediately before the dual morpheme, as in  $hubl\bar{a}$  'a pregnant woman' showing in the marked dual form  $hublay\bar{a}n$  'two pregnant women' and as in  $hamr\bar{a}?$  'red' with  $hamr\bar{a}w\bar{a}n$  'two red...'

However, the procedure adopted in the preceding examples (Tables 1 and 2) is still applied to the adjective words on the following patterns.



Patterns of variable adjective:

- (a)
- 3 - faṣṣāl: as in jabbarah 'very tyrannical' and jabbar 'very tyrannical'
- 4 - faṣīl: as in jasīḥ 'very greedy' and jasī 'very greedy'
- 5 - faṣlān: as in Damʔā 'thirsty' and Damʔān 'thirsty'
- 6 - faṣl: as in Daxmah 'bulky' and Daxm 'bulky'
- 7 - faṣal: as in hasanah 'good' and hasan 'good'
- 8 - fuṣāl: as in sujaḥ 'brave' and suja 'brave'
- 9 - fāṣil: as in Tāhirah 'pure' and Tāhir 'pure'
- 10- fayṣil: as in jayyidah 'good' and jayyid 'good'
- 11- faṣīl: as in Darīfah 'nice' and Darīf 'nice'
- 12- ʔafṣal: as in ṣamyāʔ 'blind' and ʔaṣmā 'blind'

Patterns of invariable adjectives

- 13 - faṣāl as in jabān 'coward' and hasān 'pure'
- 14 - mifṣāl as in miṣṬaʔ 'very liberal' and miṣṬām 'very learned'
- 15 - mifṣīl as in miskīn 'very poor' and mintīq 'very eloquent'
- 16 - mifṣal as in migsam 'very brave' and miqwal 'very talkative'
- 17 - verbal abstract as in ṣadl '(very) just' and sidq '(very) truthful'

Taking into consideration the examples given in the above tables with their characterization, and those in the listed patterns, the following points can be drawn.

- (i) Adjectives are of two types: variable and invariable. Variable adjectives have two forms: marked for feminine gender (+t) and unmarked for masculine gender (-t).

Thus in nominal phrases 1(a) and (b), and 2(a) and (b) (Table 1), the underlined elements are the exponents of the feminine adjective, whereas in those marked 1(c) and (d) and 2(c) and (d) (Table 1), the underlined are exponents of masculine adjectives. This contradictory feature may be extended to some cases where we have an adjective which shows gender variation having feminine and masculine forms as in the examples under (a) and (b) (patterns 3-12).

Invariable adjectives have only one form as regards gender, though they have been grouped, for reasons of morphology and ease of recognition into various patterns; they collocate with both feminine and masculine head nouns. They are distinguishable by syntactic context, as in 3 / 4(a), (b), (c) and (d) (Table 1), 2/3 (a), (b), (c) and (d) (Table 2), and examples of the listed patterns (13-17).

In this way, these underlined pairs of invariable elements, though one of them is in an unpredictable word-form represent adjective forms which have an internal binary opposition (i.e., masculine and feminine). The crucial factor in deciding one interpretation rather than the other lies in the linguistic context in which the adjective is used; if the preceding noun is masculine the adjective will be masculine and vice versa (i.e. feminine). Here we do well to quote Firth's proposal which alludes to this point and others given below;

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"like all those we have reviewed, I propose to split up meaning or function into a series of component functions. Each function will be defined as the use of some language form or element in relation to some context. Meaning, that is to say, is to be regarded as a complex of contextual relations, and phonetics, grammar, lexicography, and semantics each handles its own components of the complex in its appropriate context." (1)

(ii) Adjectives included in the above examples are highly productive as a derived class. They reveal conventional irregular <sup>for this syntactic class which however</sup> formations follow morphological rules. That is to say, they signify that these specific patterns subsume, as indeed they do, adjective forms which have morphological correlation with other elements, these making an adjective which accounts for one specific semantic interpretation rather than another. (2)

(iii) Whatever their difference, all the above underlined elements are adjectives and have one syntactic feature in common: they can serve as a positive adjective in a structure of modification.

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- (1) Firth, J.R., The Technique of Semantics, Papers in Linguistics, Oxford University Press, 1934-1951, p.19.
- (2) Footnote: The case being so, according to traditional grammar, it follows that these adjectives appear in forms with an active or passive correlate depending on the active/passive distinction which is realized in the verbal piece or the participle form which is relevant to them, i.e., for the language user in CA, the adjective which appears, for instance, in form jaban 'coward' is correlated with the verb jabuna 'to be a coward', whereas Sabur 'very patient' is correlated with the active participle Sābir 'long-suffering', and damim 'ugly' is related to the passive participle madmum 'is deformed'.

It should be remembered that items belonging to this class of adjective were distinguished earlier (Chapter IV) as identified class. This chapter aims to argue this identificatory criterion of the adjective again.

H) Word-class of adjectives

It has already been said that adjectives establish an individual class. This is seen through morphological and semantic/syntactic characteristics:

- a) They show the characteristics outlined on p. 218 irrespective of the different morphological form these adjectives may show.
- b) These element types share the feature of having comparative and superlative forms, which means that the element in question belongs to class II. That is to say, for elements, formation by comparative and superlative clearly indicates that these forms are adjectives, or as Leech points out: "most adjectives can take comparative and superlative forms."<sup>(1)</sup>
- c) They appear in the structural representation of predication as a predicate preceded by the subject; and indeed their morphological figure would account them for adjectives; in contrast with nouns which may not be predicative adjective as given below, and in fact their morphological shape would stand for nouns belonging to class I (see Chapter IV). This may be seen by making

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(1) Leech, op.cit., 1975, p.193.

a comparison between the examples below where (1) represents the adjective in predicative function and (2) shows that its counterpart (i.e. noun) is non-grammatical in predicative function; but it is a head noun of the preceding modifier.

- 1a) /zaydun faqīr/ predicative adjective  
'Zayd is a poor man'
- 1b) /zaydun sujāʔ/ predicative adjective  
'Zayd is a brave man'
- 2a) /al-faqīru Zayd/ predicative noun\*  
\*'The poor one is Zayd'  
'the poor, Zayd...'
- 2b) /al-sujāʔu Zayd/ predicative noun\*  
\*'The brave one is Zayd'  
'the brave, Zayd...'

d) The very interesting and exclusive distinction is that adjectives can be modified directly by an adverb like jiddan 'very' while nouns can never be modified by an adverb. Compare:

- a) /marīDun jiddan/ 'very ill'  
but not
- b) /bintun jiddan/ 'very girl'

It will be seen from the above that CA adjectives belong to an individual class. This class includes those elements which can have comparative and superlative forms, fit the predicative position in the adjective-identifying frame and are followed immediately by the word jiddan (or some other adverbs (see page 337)). Although it is an

attempt to set new factors, this procedure followed by the present writer corresponds to that assumed by Tammam Hassan. (1)

With respect to this point, attention is drawn to the fact that in our analysis I did not consider the adjectives and nouns as belonging to the same part of speech as did the traditional grammarians in their classification. The reason we do not follow their view is that, in the light of what has been discussed above, it is not strictly tenable. Therefore we adopt this frame for defining the adjective although it may cause some disquiet to the reader accustomed to the traditional classification.

Further, this distinction of adjectives differs from the view of Beeston mentioned in his distinction.

Beeston assumes that adjectives in SA are not a distinctive class. His viewpoint is represented in the following two quotations,

"...the identification of words as adjectives is possible only on a functional basis, since their morphological structure is in no way distinctive." (2)

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- (1) For ~~Further~~ interesting information on this point in CA, see Ḥassān who assumes that adjectives belong to an individual class. Ḥassān, T. The Arabic Language (its Form and Meaning) (al-laḡatu al-ʿarabiyyatu maʿnāhā wa maḡnāhā), op.cit., 1973, pp.98-103.
- (2) Beeston, op.cit., p.31.

and

"I must here stress a terminological point: since substantives and adjectives are distinguishable only by function, not by morphological shape, it may be impossible when quoting a word out of context to assert that it is either one or the other, this being determinable only by the syntactic context." (1)

It is our concern to confirm that adjectives morphologically belong to an individual class (in the light of the facts given in this and the previous chapter). It would have been useful if Beeston had mentioned that adjectives constitute a separate class as he has stated a class for verbs. His criterion of identifying verbs as a class can be seen with regard to adjectives. To quote,

"..., verbs are principally identifiable as such by their morphological shape, since the functions which they embody can be performed by words other than verbs." (2)

The same way of identification can be valid for adjectives being considered as a separate class, since they can be identified as a class (i.e. by morphological shape and functional consideration). In other words, adjectives as a class resemble verbs as to their identification where, generally speaking, I assume that adjectives are identifiable by their morphological shape, since their function can be accomplished by words other than adjectives (i.e. verbs, nouns etc.).

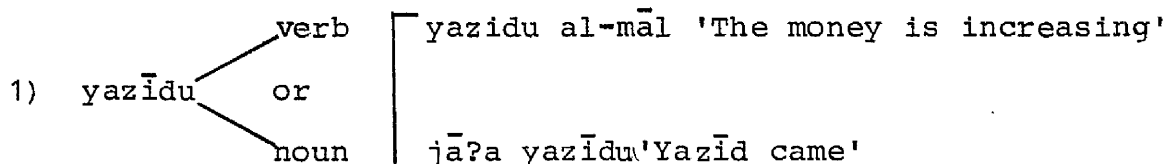
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(1) Beeston, ibid., p.34.

(2) Ibid., p.31

Moreover, Beeston, it seems, goes so far as to determine the substantive/adjective distinction in a syntactic context. This is so because, as he says in the above quotation, it may be impossible when quoting a word out of context to identify it as one or the other consistent with his assumption about this distinction being impossible. Beeston suggests this word:  $\Sigma\bar{a}d\bar{i}l$  'just'. He assumes that it is impossible without a sentence to say whether the word  $\Sigma\bar{a}d\bar{i}l$  is substantive or adjective.<sup>(1)</sup> This statement, however, is subject to syntactic considerations and excludes morphological shapes as being identificatory criterion of adjectives, while admitting morphological shapes for verbs. To me, this postulation of excluding morphological respects for identifying an adjective can also be considered with verbs. By this I mean that verbs are also subject to Beeston's argument. Admittedly, if we take a word out of context one cannot assert whether it is a verb or a noun.

The following words, for instance, can be interpreted to either verb or noun:




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(1) Ibid., p.34.



- 2) yaΣmuru verb  
or  
noun [ yaΣmuru al-masjid 'The Modque is peopled'  
jā?a yaΣmuru 'Ya'mur came'
- 3) jalā verb  
or  
noun [ jalā al-?umūr 'He made things clear'  
ja?a ibnu jalā 'Jalā's son came'
- 4) sammār verb  
or  
noun [ sammara fan sāḏidi al-jidd  
'He set to work briskly'  
imtaTā sammara 'He rode Shammar'
- 5) yaSkuru verb  
or  
noun [ yaSkuru lahu Sanīḏā  
'He thanks him for his favour'  
xaraja yaSkuru 'Yashkur went out'

Now, I come to a particular phenomenon in CA in which, as illustrated above, some adjectives and verbs belong to a problematic bifurcating class where a word can be either an adjective or noun and verb or noun. This is, because either the adjective and the verb here are used as nouns for conventional reasons. Thus, it can be said on good grounds that these marginal uses must not be taken as a general feature or as a basis to the claim that the adjective cannot morphologically be identified, and this has arisen from a non-morphological distinction.

Nevertheless, I think that the existence of a form which is used in more than one class is related to traditional usage. In that use, tradition and convention will tell us that the adjective, as well as the classes,

can be used as a proper noun.<sup>(1)</sup> Even in the same class (i.e. noun), traditional and conventional uses of unusual nouns have been chosen for personal names.<sup>(2)</sup>

The gist of our argument is that in spite of using adjectives as nouns distinguishable by context, the adjectives in CA constitute an independent class.

To return to our initial discussion of gender/number, we have examined the adjective which occurs under the above patterns in gender with singular and dual forms. To finish off this morphological/syntactic system, the following tables designate the features of forms, according to number, as realized in the numerical examples.

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- (1) Hasan, A., op.cit., Part I, pp.303-4 and see also 'Abd al-Ḥamid, M.M., op.cit., Part I, pp.123-24.  
 (2) For more information about this point, see Abu-manSūrīn al-taʿalibiy, fiḡhu al-luḡati wa sirru al-ʿarabiyyah, p.340, ed. by al-ʿibyarī et al., 1954.



(3) Modifier:adjective

1 - Sound plural masculine form

marked (un) (nom.case) characterization

marked (-in) (oblique) characterization

1a) /al-mufakkirūna al-jadīrūna.../ modifier=marked

1b) ?inna al-muʿallimīna al-miʿriyyīna.../ modifier

'the deserving thinkers'

adj. = s.pl.M form

'surely, the Egyptian teachers'

marked adj. =

s.pl.M form

2 - Sound plural feminine form

marked (āt) for all cases

characterization

2a) /fatayātun naṣīṭāt/

'active girls'

modifier = marked adjective = s.pl.F. form

2b) /...fatayātīn raṣīḍāt/

'mature girls'

modifier = marked adjective = s.pl.F. form

4 - Modifier:adjective:broken plural form

marked by internal vocalic change

characterization

/ʾulamāʾun ʾaǧillāʾ/

'splendid scholars'

modifier = marked adj. = broken pl. form

The adjectives formed by the use of the above system of marking have different word forms, according to the external morphemes as in Tables (1-3) or internal word variations as in (4) which classify them in grouped forms. These adjectives match the head noun which they modify by showing the same morphological/syntactic marker as they should be, since they are dependent on the head noun with regard to numerical status. In other words, an accompanying adjective has the numerical marker which is appropriated to that of the head noun in a nominal phrase, on account of fulfilling the resemblance between the two terms; this being dominated by the head noun. It may happen that the shape of the adjective form is different, as stated above with loose concord. However, generally speaking, violating the concordial relationships between the modifier and the head here will produce a syntactically unacceptable structure, and will miss the phonological function which is related to the syntactic status of the two elements concerned.

## (II) Participles and adjectives

We have so far been concerned with the adjective form, and noun, as expressing the attributive function - explicit in the modifier with the head noun. This is, however, a type of attribution which calls for attention and to which we shall give the term "attributive participle". The common denominator of these types lies in the operation in each of a form of relations between the elements of NP. More particularly, participles as well as

participial adjectives<sup>(1)</sup> indicate correspondingly the active and passive implications.

In general, if we take the analysis mentioned above (see pages 366 and 368) a bit further, I note that:

(i) Items are designated to represent a permanent or habitual characteristic and others show a momentary decisive state, since, as said above, they follow in meaning suppletive items.<sup>(2)</sup> This counter-argument may be suggested to signify that there is a relation between the suppletive items and the adjective-participle-patterning, which is perceived in both types by indicating the imperfective and perfective features which are attributable to aspectual functions. To make this point clear, the identification of these patterns as participial adjectives which are based upon rules of word derivation is similar to that of participles. This is because all the rules which apply to the participles also apply to these adjectives, and there are no rules which apply to these patterns of adjective and not to participles.

Yet, semantically speaking, both types are in fact a minor<sup>case</sup> of the basic difference between plain and intensive forms which are relatable to aspects. Clearly, there is a sharp distinction, on the basis of form and meaning, between

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(1) Footnote: The participial meaning is specific to particular adjectives.

(2) Footnote: It should be mentioned here that the suppletive items are active and passive in type and meaning. Thus, adjectives and participles have the semantic value of expressing an active sense with elements whose aspects are relatable to continuity or repetition of action and a passive sense with those elements refer to the completion of action.

participial adjectives where they represent an intensive morpho-semantic functional group and the verb-inflection called adjectives or participles where they exhibit plain morpho-semantic functions.

Therefore, two lexical classes can be given to them. These two semantic classes may be discernible in a system as follows:

- (i) plain (active/Sābir/ 'patient'  
(passive/majrūh/ 'wounded')
- (ii) Intensive (active/Sabūr/ 'long suffering'  
(passive/jarīh/ 'deeply wounded')

The interesting point to note here is that adjectives of the form faṣṣāl, faṣūl, mifṣāl, faṣīl, faṣil and plain adjectives of idiomatic use, though they are active in meaning, involve finer distinction in meaning according to the concept of intensity. That is to say, the adjective patterns have an inherent intensity in type and meaning by the very nature of the form, whereas the collocational adjectives are different in that they have an intensified meaning by their collocation with cognate head nouns (see pp. 346 - 348).

- (ii) Participial concepts are seen in two ways:
  - a) word-patterns: where the patterns are morphologically predictable devices in relation to verbs of relatable types, and they have a classified use of adjective vs. substantive, in which the adjective involved is depicting its referent as an inevitable consequence

of semantic configuration designated by the underlying verb. However, I am interested here in these types of participle as attributive or rather modifier.

- b) Word-patterns: where the patterns that are morphologically unpredictable devices for coding the participle category, they in fact are of participial implication which is inferred from interplay between a participle form and its counterpart adjective form, e.g. the adjective  $\Sigma aj\bar{u}l$  'hasty' is a paraphrase of the active participle  $\Sigma \bar{a}jil$  'urgent', and the adjective  $sal\bar{ib}$  'taken' is a paraphrase of the passive pattern  $masl\bar{u}b$  'taken'.

These points mentioned so far are schematically disposed as follows:

{	participles	{ active passive }	exhibiting external prefix feature & vowel changes	{	$\bar{s}ajid$ 'prostrating' $\bar{m}ujtahid$ 'diligent' $\bar{m}aks\bar{u}r$ 'broken' $\bar{m}urs\bar{a}l$ 'sent'
	adjectives	{ active passive }			
			by internal pattern implication	{	$sa??\bar{a}r$ 'always leaving something' $\bar{d}abih$ 'slaughtering'

In this way of identifying participles, there is however one remarkable dimension of the participle where aspect plays a central role in displaying a considerable semantic extension and in which the participle contains specialized senses within its semantic spectrum, in addition to its fundamental value, i.e., the term aspect includes the relevant functions of the participles, in addition to the essential values agentive and goal.



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Again, I am interested in aspect as a feature of participles in the sense that they can have the function of an adjective in qualifying a noun whilst at the same time having certain characteristics of a verb, showing aspect. However, the devices given for relating the term aspect to participles are three:

(i) inherent-lexical aspect: to which the term aspect is assigned from the very nature of the element root, e.g.  $\Sigma$ izzun dāʔim 'a permanent honour' is durative.

(ii) derivational-thematic aspect: in which the aspect is expressed by inflections or derivations as the following aspects in active or passive participle:

1) Active "progressive" aspect

Implication of the aspect

a) Continuous

/Sadaqatun jāriyah/

'a current charity'

/wa lahum  $\Sigma$ adābun muqīm/

'and long-lasting suffering awaits them' (1)

b) Habitual

/alrāʔī al-mubakkir/

'The shepherd who is used to get out early'

/sābbun mubaḍḍir/

'A wastrel (a boy who is used to waste his money)'

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.149, verse 37.

## c) Inceptive

/gulāmun nāsī?un fī banī fulān/

'a boy who is brought up from the start at bani fulān'

/lāʕibun nāsī?/

'a beginner' (a player who is beginning to play)'

/fī mā?in sārīʕin fī al-galayān/

'in a water which is starting to boil'

## d) Continuous for a limited period

/imra?atun hāmīl/

'a pregnant woman'

/wajhun mukfahīrr/

'a sullen-looking face'

## e) Perfective or continuous

/al-hākīmu al-Dalīm/

'the ruler who has oppressed someone'

'the ruler who is oppressing his people'

/saxSun muṣāgīb/

'A person who has been or is being a trouble-maker'

## 2) Passive Aspect

## Implications:

## a) Perfective

/bābun maksūr/

'a broken door or a door which has been broken'

/?ilā yawmi al-waḡti al-maʕlūm/

'till the Day the time whereof is known (to Me alone)', (1)

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(1) Ibid., p.386, verse 38.

b) Perfective continuous:

/al-saʕiru al-muhaddad/

'The poet who has been or is being threatened'

/wa al-yawmi al-mawʕud/

'and (then bethink thyself of) the promised day' (1)

3) Passive use of the Active Aspectual Form.

The participle is used as a modifier for a noun in the structure normally implying that the head noun would be the actor, in these structures however, the actor is in fact another implied entity and the head noun is the receiver of the action.

a) Perfective or Progressive Aspect

/ʕisatin rāDiyah/

'in a happy state of life' (2)

/ḥaraman ʔāminā/

'a sanctuary secure' (3)

/xuliqa min māʔin dāfiq/

'He has been created out of a seminal fluid' (4)

(iv) Participial-adverbial aspect: where the aspect is inferred from the interplay between verbs with adverbial phrase and active form.

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(1) Asad, ibid., p. 942, verse 2.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.972, verse 7.

(3) Asad, ibid., p.616, verse 67.

(4) Asad, ibid., p.944, verse 6.

## a) Iterative aspect

/laylun nāʔim/

'A night for sleeping' (lit. A night which sleeps)

/laylun sāhir/

'A night for being up' (lit. A night being up)

/yawmun ʕāsif/

'A day of violent wind (lit. A day violent)

However, this system of aspect shows that the establishment of aspect for participles is based on the fact that each aspectual feature must be examined in respect of its semantic interpretation with its grammatical construction. Thus, various aspectual features are presented with participles. In this manner participles are similar to their counterpart verbs.

Thus, this combination may be represented by the following quotation,

"on the one hand, language-particular categories often combine aspect with some other category, most usually tense... The same is true of the so-called perfective in written Arabic, which combines perfective meaning and relative past time reference." (1)

However, this quotation is given just for clarification, since verbs and participles are equally involved with aspectual features. Further, they may share the constant interplay of aspect. Comrie, however, did not give attention to participles in his book "Aspect". That is

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(1) See Comrie, B., Aspect, 1976, p.9.

why Mitchell has commented on this,

"The Arabic participle is closely involved with aspectual distinctions, but Wright, the traditional Arabists' authority on whom Comrie relied for the Arabic content of his recent valuable book on Aspect, is quite uninformative on the subject and it is therefore not surprising that participles did not engage Comrie's attention and that his account of Arabic facts is correspondingly unfocussed, although it should be said that he has chosen to confine his interest to the written language." (1)

Whatever the distinctions of aspect are, in the present study we speak of semantic aspectual distinctions, such as that between perfective and imperfective meanings, in the light of the grammatical function and meaning of each type in a given structure. However, in our treatment of aspect here, we follow, Ingham in his strict idea of aspectual distinctions given in his recent valuable article on Tense and Aspect in the Arabic and English languages. To quote,

"The basis of this study is "al-zaman" Tense and "al-wijhah" Aspect in the Arabic verb, they differ in some respects with regard to Arabic and English languages. And although both languages indicate "Tense" and "Aspect", the way of indication in each language differs from language to language and we mention in this regard the old linguistic saying 'different languages perform the same functions in different ways.'" (2)

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- (1) See Mitchell, Journal of Linguistics, vol. 14, No. II, 1978, p.229.
- (2) Ingham, B., Tense and Aspect in the Arabic and English Languages, in Proceedings of the 1st International Colloquium for Teaching Arabic as a Second Language. (ed.) M.H.Bakalla, Riyadh 1980 (1).

"And the pointing out of one form to numerous tenses and connecting the syntactical function to the structure are seen in the Arabic language. But in the English language most functions have a special form and the indication to the tense in most examples is necessary. It seems that the system of tense and aspect in the Arabic language is a very economic system because it expresses a great number of tenses and aspects by few forms. The meaning of these forms can be understood by recalling the structure in which they have involved and the kind of verb root which these forms are derived from." (1)

Having said that the participial modification in noun phrase will be interpreted according to contextual considerations, consider now the different versions of the following:

- (1) /hādā rajulun nāsihun lanā/  
'This is a man who (is advising) us  
(advises )  
(will advise)
- (2) /hādā māʔun bārid/  
'This is a cold water'
- (3) /fīhā ʔaynun jāriyah/  
'Countless springs will flow therein' (2)
- (4) /kaʔannahum humurun mustanfīrah/  
'as though they were terrified asses' (3)
- (5) /ʔinnahu ʔaduwwun muḍillun mubīn/  
'Verily, he is an open foe, leading (man) astray' (4)

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(1) Ibid.  
 (2) Asad, op.cit., p.948, verse 12.  
 (3) Asad, ibid., p.911, verse 50.  
 (4) Asad, ibid., p.591, verse 15.

- 6) /hum qawmun hālikūn/  
'They are people who will be destroyed'
- 7a) /wa kitābin mastūr fī riqqin mansūr/  
'Consider (God's) revelation, inscribed on wide-open scrolls' (1)
- b) /wa al-bayti al-maʿmūr/  
'Consider the long-enduring house (of worship)!' (2)

Note that the participial form sometimes becomes fully adjectival in function, or rather there are many adjectives which have the same form as participles, as in

- a) /jāʾanī rajulun tājir/  
'A man who is a dealer came to me'
- b) /ʿumarū al-xalīfatu al-ʿādil/  
'Omar, the just Caliph'
- c) /ʾabsartu xālidan al-sāʿir/  
'I saw Khalid, the poet'
- d) /marartu bi zaydin al-ʿāqil/  
'I passed by Zayd, the sensible'

However, the line between adjectives and participles of the same form can be seen by the verbal function which is plain in participles where a direct object is present. Furthermore, participles show aspect with regard to their relationship with the head noun, i.e., they qualify the head noun with regard to aspect, but adjectives do not.

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(1) Asad, *ibid.*, p.807, verses 2 and 3.  
(2) Asad, *ibid.*, p.807, verse 4.

Although participles are of different types and various aspects, they nevertheless have one feature in common: Modifier

- a) /fī al-ʔayyāmi al-xāliyah/  
'in days gone by' (1)
- b) /ʔillā wa lahā kitābun maʔlūm/  
'unless a divine writ had (previously) been made known to it' (2)
- a) /qāla al-fatā fī Sawtihi al-sāxir.../  
'The boy said in his sarcastic voice'
- b) /al-buqʕatī al-mubārakah/  
'on blessed ground' (3)
- a) /...kūnū qiradatan xāsiʔīn/  
'Be as apes despicable' (4)
- b) /fī kitābin maknūn/  
'(conveyed unto man) in a well-guarded divine writ' (5)

As can be seen from these and earlier examples, participles are capable of a considerable number of semantic and structural functions. Just as the aspects were defined by indicating miscellaneous values in the semantic spectrum of participles, structurally, participles are described in terms of their dependency, greatly depending for their function as a modifier on an associated head noun. The participle is thus characterized

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- (1) Asad, ibid., p.890, verse 24.
  - (2) Asad, ibid., p.383, verse 4.
  - (3) Asad, ibid., p.593, verse 30.
  - (4) Asad, ibid., p.228 verse 166.
  - (5) Asad, ibid., p.834, verse 78.



by the fact that it modifies the head noun and the grammatical structure is that of modification. However, it seems to me that the semantic and morphosyntactic specifications of participles are in a way interdependent.

Like adjectives, participles can be transposed in word order and exhibit, because of their transposition, a focus in the noun phrase; that is, every transposed participle in a structure of modification is represented by a contrastive nominal phrase. Focus, however, is used here in a sense similar to that defined by Chafe:

"perhaps, then, contrastive sentences should not be thought to contain the specification new at all, but rather some other specification which might be labelled focus. In that case, new and focus would be in complementary distribution, the former occurring only in non-contrastive sentences, the latter only in contrastive ones." (1)

It is the case, then, that a contrastive nominal phrase entails the focus upon the transposed element. The following pairs of examples illustrate this point in which (b) is focal type.

- a) /zaydun al-zāʔiru.../  
'Zayd, the visitor.../'
- b) /al-zāʔiru zayd/  
'the visitor, Zayd'
- a) /marartu bi Tiflin Sārīx/  
'I passed by a crying child'

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(1) Chafe, op.cit., p.224 N(3) below.

- b) /marartu bi Sārixin Tifi/ <sup>(1)</sup>  
 'I passed by a crying child'
- a) /Saqrūn al-magyūn/  
 lit. 'Saqr the absent-minded'
- b) /al-magyūnu Saqr/ <sup>(2)</sup>  
 'the absent-minded, Saqr'
- a) /iltaqaytu bi rajulin mahīb/  
 'I met a venerable man'
- b) /iltaqaytu bi bimahībin rajul/  
 'I met a venerable man'

Nominal phrases like these have been treated by the Arab grammarians. The head noun and the modifier may be either definite or indefinite, but with definite structure the head noun is always a proper noun.<sup>(3)</sup> However, although the examples marked (b) are of transposed participles, the transposed structure as a syntactic term is called "badal" "Apposition" by the Arab grammarians, which is semantic/syntactic term. Transposition here as a semantic concept is considered in terms of specification. As a syntactic feature it forms a sub-class of "modifier", and is focussed by choosing a marked word order, which is in this case the moving of the participle to the beginning of the nominal phrase. (See Chapter VI on apposition).

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(1) This example is taken from Hasan, A., op.cit., part 3, p.482 below N(1).  
 (2) See Chapter VI on appositions.  
 (3) See Hasan, A., op.cit., vol.3, pp.481-82.

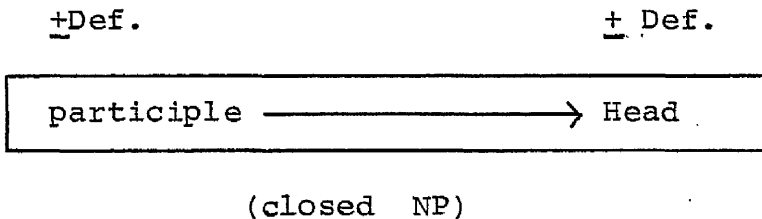
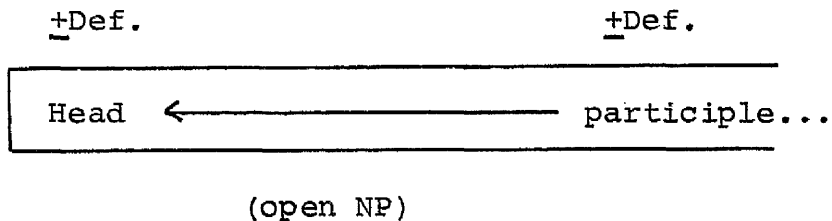
Working from the above types of nominal phrases, we notice that these types are virtually a combination of head noun and modifier with regard to the feature "Definiteness" or "Indefiniteness". They are listed in two groups, (a) and (b), and this introduces a distinction of ordering significance. Set (a) represents what are obviously called unmarked structures that constitute "an open nominal phrase". By contrast, set (b) comprises a "closed nominal phrase". That is, the participles which are shifted from their unmarked positions, for focus reasons, create a closed NP in the sense that the use of transposition in a given nominal phrase excludes the possibility of adding other elements. This may be due to the fact that the significance of this transposition is to characterise the given head noun as being of specific relevance to the transposed participle. That is to say, it denotes that the given head noun is the only one that is involved in the modification. This comparison could be shown convincingly in the following examples where (a) represents an open structure and (b) exemplifies a closed nominal phrase:

- a) /zaydun al-fātiku.../  
'Zayd who ~~has~~ assassinated someone'
- b) /al-fātiku zayd/  
'the killer, Zayd'
- a) /marartu bi Tiflin maDrūbin.../  
'I passed by a beaten child'

b) /marartu bimaDrubin Tifl/

'I passed by a beaten (who is) child'

This contrast between the open and closed nominal phrases may be diagrammed thus:



In these two different systems, the open nominal phrase is shown by the box with an open end, a sign that the nominal phrase can be extended, while a closed nominal phrase, with a participle positioned initially, is represented in a closed box; this means that the nominal phrase is restricted. The direction of modification is indicated by an arrow from the modifier toward the head.

In general, this comparison is applicable to any type corresponding to these structures (see adjectives with head noun above).

Once again, it is worth mentioning that certain participles resemble their counterparts (nouns of occupation

and some adjectives, see above) in a certain syntactic feature; that is, they occur usually before their head noun which is always a proper noun. Indeed these special participle modifiers are frequently placed in the initial position of a nominal phrase; on the basis of structure and meaning, they can always be analyzed in terms of modifier and head. As in the case of their previous counterparts, the system used here will show the two juxtaposed members of the NP in the order in which they appear. It is a syntagmatic representation of structure based on two main principles: (1) A juxtaposition of two definite elements in which the modifier is defined by the article al- 'the' and the head is definite by nature (i.e. proper noun), occurs in a fixed pattern, (2) a participle modifier precedes the head noun by itself, in contrast with the one which precedes it by transposition. Contrast:

- (1) al-ḥājju Zumar/  
       'the pilgrim 'Omar'  
       /al-marḥūmu Zumar/  
       'the late 'Omar'  
       /al-faqīdu al-rāḥilu Zumar/  
       'the deceased 'Omar'
- (2) (a) /al-mutafaqqihatu sukaynah/  
       'the well versed, Sukayna'
- b) /sukaynatu al-mutafaqqihatu.../  
       'the well-versed Sukayna'
- a) /al-maDrūbu zayd/  
       'the beaten, Zayd'

b) /Zaydun al-maDrūbu.../

'the beaten Zayd'

Thus two possible structures can be seen in a non-obligatory transposition. (Note that the non-transposed structure would often indicate a correspondingly unfocussed modifier, whereas the modifier in the transposed structure would be in focus.

However, the resulting pattern of both types (i.e. (1) and 2(a)), which has been called a "close structure", may bring the two elements involved into a potentially ambiguous syntactic relationship.

For instance, informants well-versed in classical Arabic, regarded the illustrations listed below as ambiguous, in spite of the stress which is assigned to the elements involved. This was on the basis of the principle that in CA such nominal phrases tolerate two interpretations (i.e. apposition or predication). They emphasize that the only means to disambiguate these constructions is to insert the so-called pronoun of separation. Whatever the grammarians whom the informants relied on may say, these constructions are nominal phrases (see also Chapter II and page 305 above with reference to this point). It appears, in fact, to be neither an apposition nor a predication since the appositional structure is made up of a noun modifying a head noun, as in wa xaTaba bintahu al-rabāb 'and he got engaged to his daughter, al-Rabāb',

and the predication, as in al-maqtūlu huwa sayyid 'The murdered man is Sayyid'.

Keeping this distinction in mind, we note at this point that such structures as this are of one interpretation. This is based on syntactic and semantic relations, or rather syntagmatic and structural configuration. Thus, a participle followed by noun represents a structural configuration of modifier and head in which the semantic function is attribution in contrast to the structure of apposition which consists of head noun and noun-modifier with determinative relation. This contrast appears in the following illustrations:

Structure of attribution	Structure of apposition
(Participle modifier + noun)	(Noun + modifier - noun)
/al-mahību walīd/	/al-masīḥu ʿĪsā/
'the venerable Walīd'	'the Messiah, Jesus (peace be upon him)
/wa minhum al-mutaxayyaru	/al-ḥusaynu ibnu ʿAlīyy/
ʾaḥmad/	'al-Ḥusain, the son of ʿAlī'
'and one of them is the chosen Aḥmad'	
/xāSamtu al-bāgiya zaydā/	/ʾaxūka zayd/
'I disputed with the oppressor Zayd'	'Your brother Zayd'
/jāʾa al-mawḥūbu ʿAmr/	/ʾabū ḥafṣin ʿumar/
'The talented ʿAmr came'	'Abu Ḥafṣ ʿomar'

/jāʔa al-muḥsinu zayd/	/ʔaxāhum suḥaybā/
'The charitable Zayd came'	'their brother Shuʿaib'
/ʔanSfa al-maḍlūma zaydā/	/wa ibnu ʔammihi ʔaliyy/
'He treated with justice the	'and the son of his uncle 'Ali'
tyrannized Zayd'	

However, the features specifying each type are semantico-syntactic features. Furthermore, it is observable that the semantic value of the participle, which is adjectivally carried, is that of describing, but not identifying or determining, the head in which the participle is employed to mark the feature "event depicting a temporary situation" or a static aspectual value. (So, participles here are showing attribution on the basis of their function and their morphological shape).

The following two quotations from Beeston bear evidence to this fact:

"The fundamental semantic value of a participle is that of describing an entity about which the verb can be predicated and nothing more..."(1)

"Thirdly, the form depicting a temporary situation coexisting with the moment of utterance, as in 'I am sitting in the garden'; this can be represented in SA either by a prefix set verb, or by a non-verbal theme + participle structure, 'ajlis' or 'ʔanajālis.'"(2)

What is of immediate concern to us here is that these nominal phrases with a pre-posed participle require

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(1) and (2) See Beeston, op.cit., pp.35 and 78-79 respectively.



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a phonological marker, otherwise ambiguities may arise; as to which one of the elements is the modifier? However, this potential ambiguity can be resolved by stress, and the modifier is usually marked by a stronger stress than the head.

However, these structures of modification have engaged my attention because they show high frequency nowadays in spoken and written language.

Further illustrations:

- a) /al-muttahamu fargalī/  
'the accused farghali'  
'Farghali who has been accused'
- b) /al-madʔuwwu ḥasan/  
'the called Hasan'  
'Hasan who has been called by this name'
- c) /al-muddaʔī ʔāsim/  
'the claimed 'Āsim'  
'Āsim who is being claimed'
- d) /al-mudnibu saʔd/  
'the guilty Saʔd'  
'Saʔd is being guilty'
- e) /al-magfuru lahu sayyid/  
'the forgiven Sayyid'  
'Sayyid who has been forgiven'

Summarizing this section on the morphology of participles and their position, we should notice that in Arabic there is a certain degree of congruence between semantic and morphological criteria, and syntactic and adjectival considerations (i.e. attributive).

### (III) Comparative and superlative

In this section we are concerned with the treatment of what is labelled preeminence: comparative and superlative adjectival types in consideration with the syntactic function in which they occur as 'noun headed' modifiers. By this is meant that they are syntactically subordinated to the head noun of a nominal phrase which assigns to them the case ending, as with comparative types, and all grammatical features, as with superlative types.

Morphologically, comparative types have one common pattern ?afʕal which has been referred to as a comparative adjective pattern and is invariable: Thus, it never adopts any morphological change to indicate gender or number e.g. marartu bi rajulin ?akbara min Zayd 'I passed by a man who is older than Zayid' jāʔatnī imraʔatun ?akbaru min hind 'A woman who is older than Hind came to me'. This fact, however, is due to the absence of the article al-'the'. Moreover, all comparatives of this pattern are often distinguishable and describable in terms of the "form" + preposition (min 'than') which signals its comparative significance; that is, the comparative form in Arabic can be followed by a periphrastic form in conjunction with a compared noun, as illustrated above. The following quotation from Quirk illuminates this fact:

"Most adjectives inflected for comparison seem to be able to take periphrastic forms more easily when they are predicative and are followed by the basis of comparison." (1)

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(1) See Quirk, op.cit., p.135.

In a way, the same applies in CA. On the other hand, periphrastic forms are, however, abnormal with the superlative patterns: al-ʔafʔal and al-fuʔlā (i.e. the preposition min 'than', never follows the superlative form). Consider:

a) /istamaʔtu ʔilā xaTībin ʔafSaha min saḥbān/  
 'I heard a preacher who is more eloquent than Saḥbān'

b) /istamaʔtu ʔila al-xaTībi al-ʔafSah/  
 'I heard the preacher who is the most eloquent'

but not

/istamaʔtu ʔilā al-xaTībi al-ʔafSah min saḥbān/

If we examine the above illustrations, we note that the comparative-element in (a), where it is assigned by the absence of the article, is followed by the preposition 'min', superlative-element in (b) which is prefixed by the article cannot be followed by this preposition; since this preposition does not figure idiomatically in the structural representation of superlative phrase.

Again, the presence of the definite article has the morpho-syntactic effect of contrasting the superlative with comparative forms as regards gender and number. This is attested by the fact that the morpho-syntactic al- 'the', which may figure in the surface syntax of the basic pattern (ʔafʔal), brings to the form involved varieties of two distinguishable forms (i.e. masculine and feminine). In other words, with the article, one must distinguish between two varieties of these superlative adjectives: masculine and feminine forms to which the external

markers of gender and number are affixed, but not with those of the comparative which is a stable pattern. Thus, with the prefixed article al-ʔafʕal is a masculine singular and al-fuʕlā is a feminine singular pattern.

Examples:

Masculine /al-ʔakbar//al-ʔaʕgar//al-ʔafDal/  
          'the oldest' 'the youngest' 'the most outstanding'  
Feminine /al-kubrā//al-sugrā//al-fuDlā/  
          'the oldest' 'the youngest' 'the most outstanding'

In summary, the superlative degree of comparison is expressed by prefixing the definite article al- to the basic comparative form in which the article differentiates between the stable and the gender and number differentiated forms; this however is not always the case; some exceptions do occur, as in yantaqilu al-badawiyu ʔila al-ʔamākini al-ʔawsaʕ 'The Bedouin usually moves to the widest places', and yuhibbu al-ʕarabiyu al-ḥayāta al-ʔakram 'The Arabian likes the most honorable life'. These examples represent an exceptional kind of the stipulated morphological variation which figures with the 'superlative'. In this manner, they are similar to 'comparative' as regards gender and number.

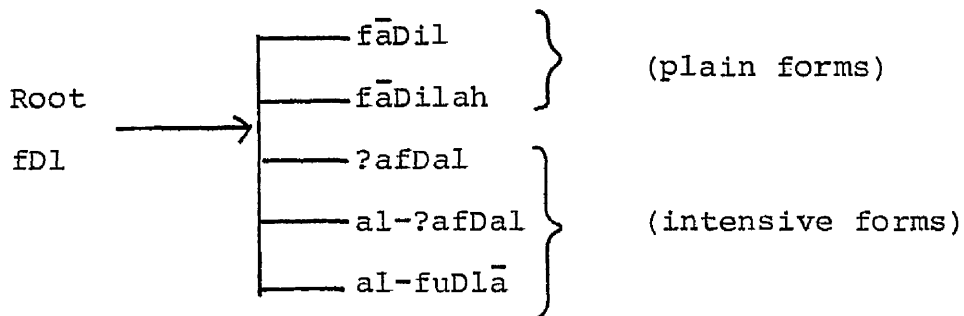
The following two quotations from Beeston and al-ʔazhariyy bear evidence to this fact:

"While the differentiation between the stable and the gender-and-number-differentiated varieties can be overall presented as conditioned by the absence

or presence of the article, this is not the whole of the story; some exceptions do occur." (1)

"We rely here on "established usage" for realizing the plural and feminine representations, i.e. in al-ʔasraf, al-ʔadraf, the plurals al-ʔasārif, al-ʔadārif and the feminines al-surfā, al-Durfā are not recorded while the adjectives al-ʔafDal and al-ʔaTwal do have attested plural and feminine forms of that type (ʔafDal fuDlā, ʔaTwal, Tūla)." (2)

However, these comparative and superlative patterns have the semantic value of denoting a special degree of intensity, accordingly their forms have an intensifying function on the nouns they modify. In contrast with their counterpart of other patterns, although all belong to the same consonantal root which do not have this special intensity. For example, the intensive forms: ʔafDal 'more outstanding', al-ʔafDal and al-FuDlā the 'most outstanding', contrast with the participial unmarked (intensity) form: fāDil 'outstanding'. This contrast can be summarized thus:



(1) See Beeston, *op.cit.*, pp.57-58.

(2) See al-ʔazhariyy Kh., sarhu al-taSrīḥi ʔalā al-tawDīh 1954, Commercial Library, vol. II, pp.103-4.

The intensive forms are also in contrast with a form of the same pattern which is neither relative nor intensive in a sense that it does not show comparison; therefore it does not possess this special intensity of comparison. The following two lists give some of the preeminently elements which typically represent this type and their corresponding primary words:

ʔashal 'easier'	ʔahwal 'squint-eyed'
ʔajdā 'more advantageous'	ʔaʕsar 'left-handed'
ʔajdar 'more suitable'	ʔasqar 'blond'
ʔaqrab 'nearer'	ʔubras 'leprous'
ʔabʕad 'farther'	ʔaxDar 'green'
kubrā 'older'	hublā 'pregnant'
sugrā 'smaller'	rubbā 'which has recently yearned'
fuDlā 'more outstanding'	Tūbā 'blessedness'
husnā 'better'	busrā 'good news'
Tulā 'taller'	rujʕā 'retroactive'
al-ʕulyā 'the highest'	al-fuShā 'the CA'
al-Tūlā 'the taller'	al-ṣūrā 'the consultation'
al-suflā 'the lowest'	al-ruʔyā 'the dream'
al-kubrā 'the oldest'	al-buhmā 'name of plant'
al-wuṭqā 'the firmer'	al-ʔuntā 'the female'

#### Examples:

- a) /al-lawnu al-ʔahmar/ unmarked  
'the red colour'
- 2) /rajulun ʔaʕzal/ unmarked  
'an unarmed man'

- 3) /imraʔatun hublā/ unmarked  
'a pregnant woman'
- 1) /hādā tawbun ʔaglā tamanā/ marked  
'This is a dress which is more expensive' intensity
- 2) /fa yuʔaddibuhu allāhu al-ʔadābā . al-ʔakbar/ marked  
'him will God cause to suffer the greatest intensity  
suffering (in the life to come)' (1)
- 3) : /faʔarāhu al-ʔāyata al-kubrā/ marked  
'And thereupon he (went to Pharaoh and) intensity  
made him aware of the great wonder (of  
God's grace)' (2)

After this brief investigation of the main types of 'comparison', and the applicability of comparative and superlative systems to the appropriate adjective types in CA, it is proposed to discuss the phrasal characteristics of the classes of phrases which appear in comparative and superlative constructions. Next, an attempt will be made to classify these phrasal constructions into two types; each will be dealt with separately:

(i) In the majority of cases, the structural occurrence of the phrasal construction is its use as an annexed comparative form to a noun, by which the phrase will be equal to superlative. So, such phrases are formally and grammatically equivalent to the superlative-element; since syntactically both types, the superlative at the

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.949, verse 24.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.927, verse 20.

element level and phrasal level behave similarly, i.e. their role is identical; semantically they are also equal; since their common denominator is the superlative feature and semantic feature of describing an entity.

Consider the following illustrative examples where the superlative is a defined adjective - comparison in (a) and phrasal construction-comparison in (b) which has an implied head.

a) /wa ?ahsastu ?anna al-naba?a al-?aΣDama qarīb/  
'and I felt that the greatest news was coming soon'

b) /wa ?ahsastu ?anna ?aΣDama al-?anbā?i qarīb/  
'and I felt the greatest news (of the news) was coming soon'

a) /inSarafat al-zā?iratu al-FuDlā/  
'The most outstanding visitor has left'

b) /inSarafat fuDlā al-zā?irāt/  
'The visitor (who is) the most outstanding visitor has left'

a) /yawma nabTisu al-baTsata al-kubrā/  
'On the Day when We shall seize (all sinners) with a most mighty onslaught' (1)

b) /ja?a ?afDalū al-qawm/  
'The most excellent (man or men) of the tribe'

(ii) In the more usually accepted style, the comparative type may be realized by phrasal constructions in the structural configuration of that class of nominal phrases

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.761, verse 16.



which involves phrasal comparative modifiers. However, the phrasal construction here is represented by a prefixed comparative form used as an auxiliary followed by a "corresponding"<sup>(1)</sup> verbal noun; this, however, is for reasons of specification, such as ?asaddu xuDratan 'greener', ?aqbaḥu ṣawaran 'uglier (as to one blind eye)', ?akbaru taṣāwunan 'more helpful' ?asraṣu inṭilāqan 'more rapid' (as to outbreak)... etc. This type of construction arises usually from the fact that items denoting colours or undesirable characteristics are not themselves capable of being compared by themselves; since the positive adjective from those terms are themselves of the pattern ?afal as ?axDar 'green', ?aṣwar 'one blind eye'. And this construction can also be used with all other elements which cannot take the form ?afṣal i.e. taṣāwun cooperative, inṭilāq 'rapid'. Consider:

- a) /tawbun ?asaddu bayāDā/  
'a more white robe'
- b) /hādā rajulun ?aktaru mālā/  
'This is a man who has more money'
- c) /fī al-dāri rajulun ?awDaḥu ṣarajā/  
'A man who is more obviously lame is in the house'
- d) /iṣtarā baytan ?awsaṣa misāḥah/  
'He bought a house which is wider in area'
- e) /wa yaṭlubūna ?ilayhā tamarātin ?ahlā madāqā/  
'and they asked from it profits which are sweeter in taste'

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(1) See Wright, op.cit., vol.2, p.141.

The above construction is identical in surface syntax to the construction where a "tamyīz" phrase is made comparative. So we also have phrases of the type ?awDahu Ṣarajan 'more obviously lame', ?awsaṢu misāḥatan 'wider in area' ?ahlā maḍāqan 'sweeter in taste' from wāDihun Ṣarajan 'obviously lame', wāsiṢun misāḥatan 'wide in area' and hulwun maḍāqan 'sweeter in taste'.

In the examples (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) however, the elements ?aktar and ?asadd are purely syntactic auxiliary, while in the other examples the ?afṢal forms ?awDah, ?awsaṢ, etc. are central semantic components of the modifying phrase. We still can add that there are phrasal constructs which contain a comparative auxiliary and derived element from the same root of a given element in the context; in more concrete terms the element that is used as the head and the corresponding comparative element that is used as the modifier are related etymologically, as in wakāna hāda al-fatā Dayyiqan bi hayātih ?asadda al-Dīq 'This boy was extremely annoyed with his life'. However, such comparative phrases are presented for adjectives which refer to a quality that is considered as having values on a scale, and for participles which refer to an aspect that is expressed in terms of a scale. Hence they achieve an intensifying function on the head noun:

- a) /faTāfa bi al-bayti Ṣajilan ?asadda al-Ṣajalah/  
'and he ran extremely fast around the house'

- b) /wa kāna baxīlan ʔaṣadda al-buxl/  
'and he was extremely greedy'
- c) /wa lākin hādīhi al-hinātu muṣaqqadatun ʔaṣadda  
al-taḡīd/  
'and these flaws are extremely intricate'
- d) /wa kāna al-fatā munkiran lihayātihi ʔaṣadda al-ʔinkār/  
'and this boy was denying his way of life in  
the extreme'
- e) /gayra ʔannanī ʔanDuru ʔilā hādīhi al-risālati  
al-mutawāḍiʕati ʔaṣadda al-tawāḍuʕ/  
'But I took to their modest message, modest in  
the extreme'

An examination of the above illustrations shows that:

- 1) phrasal comparatives here are an extension of the relating element realized by an adjective or participle,
- 2) they are syntactically optional, and hence they are deletable without affecting the grammaticality of the structure,
- 3) they are used to emphasize the quality or the aspect introduced by the preceding correlated element.

To further illustrate this point, consider:

- a) /wa kānat lugatuhā muxtalifatan ʔaṣadda al-ixtilāf /  
'and its language was different; extremely different'
- b) /yujību biʔalfāḍin gāmiḍatin ʔaṣadda al-gumūd /  
'He is replying in ambiguous words; extremely  
ambiguous'



- b) /wa yasmaʔu ʔaSwātan ʔaʔdaba min Sawti naTsān/  
'and he will be listening to more pleasant voices  
than NaTsān's voice'
- c) /hādihi masʔalatun ʔaktaru taʔqīdā/  
This is a more complicated case'
- (ii) Invariable superlative forms, e.g.
- a) /istamaʔtu ʔilā xatībīn ʔafSahī xatīb/  
'I have listened to the best preacher' (I have  
listened to a preacher who is the best preacher)
- b) /raʔaytu fatātan ʔajmala fatah/  
'I saw the most beautiful girl (I saw a girl who is  
the most beautiful girl), and
- (iii) variable definite superlative forms (be they element  
or phrase) e.g.
- a) /iqraʔ wa rabbuka al-ʔakram/  
'Read - for thy Sustainer is the Most Bountiful' (1)
- b) /bi al-ʔurwati al-wuṭqā/  
'a support most unfailing' (2)
- c) /fatabāraka allāhu ʔahsanu al-xāliqīn/  
'hallowed, therefore, is God, the best of artisans' (3)
- d) /jāʔat al-wālidātu husnayātu al-nisāʔ/  
'The best women (of women) came'

Thus, the features defining these roles are semantico-  
morpho-syntactic features.

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.963, verse 3.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.630, verse 22.  
(3) Asad, ibid., p.520, verse 14.

The semantic roles in general relate to comparison. References will define each one in a given structure. We shall, however, refer to them as sub-components in accordance with Anderson's following definition:

"I shall therefore prefer here the term semantic sub-component (or semantics). These underlying semantic representations form the input to a 'transformational sub-component' (what were called 'rules of realization' in Anderson, 1968a, 1969c) whose function is to correlate these representations with appropriate surface structure." (1)

The distinction between these roles made plain by semantic reference assigned. Thus, the reference tells us which belongs in a given frame, or as Strang puts it,

"The variation is for comparison, and the terms are, as with adjectives, positive, comparative, superlative; the distribution is similar to that of the three terms in adjectives - there are situations where any of the terms may be used, and only referential considerations will tell us which belongs in a given frame, and there are "than-constructions" which require a comparative, and "of-all-constructions" which require a superlative." (2)

The structures illustrating these semantic roles appear in nominal phrases. Next, an attempt will be made to classify these semantic roles into four sub-components: each being represented separately.

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(1) See Anderson, J.M., The Grammar of Case, Towards a Linguistic Theory, C.U.P., 1971, p.15.

(2) See Strang, op.cit., p.182.

(i) Explicative: Comparative forms

- a) /wa huwa min ?usratin ʔazīzatin min ?aqwā ?usari  
tamīmin wa ?agnāhā/

'and he came from a powerful family which is the strongest and richest family (of families) (or he came from the greatest and richest family) of Tamīm.

- b) /jismun ?adaqqu min masTarah/

'a body thinner than a ruler'

- c) /hādā ?uslūbun ?aqwā wa ?awDah/

'This is a stronger and clearer style'

(ii) Specificative: auxiliary comparative + specificative complement

- a) /?innahu lafatan ?afDalū qawmihi murūʔatan wa ?ahsanuhum  
xuluqā/

'Surely, he is a young man who is the best of his people with regard to chivalry and nature'

- b) /wa kullamā kānū sabāban ?anDaja ʔuqūlan wa ?awfara  
taqāfatan.../

'and the more broad-minded and scholarly young men were...'

- c) /sarābun ?amarru maḍāqan mina al-ʔalqam/

'a drink more bitter in taste than colocynth'

(iii) partative: superlative forms (phrasal construction)

- a) /faḡad kān ʔumarū ibnu al-xaTTābi fatan ?arwaʔa  
min fityāni qurays/

'and 'Omar ibn al-Khattāb was the most charming of the men of Quraish'

- b) /salaka bihi Tarīqan ʔaTwala Tarīq/  
'He took him along the longest way'
- c) /usturDiṣa fī banī saḏdin ʔafDali al-qabāʔili lisānā/  
'He was nursed in the best tribe (bani Sa'd) among the tribes with regard to CA language'
- d) /jāʔat al-hindātu ʔahsanu al-nisāʔ/  
'The Hindāts who are the best women came'
- (iv) Absolute:superlative forms
- a) /sabbih isma rabbika al-ʔaṣṣlā/  
'EXTOL the limitless glory of thy Sustainer's name:  
(the glory of) the All-Highest' <sup>(1)</sup>
- b) /al-yadu al-ṣulyā xayrun mina al-yadi al-suflā/  
'The highest hand is better than the lowest hand'
- c) ʔantum wa ʔābāʔukum al-ʔaqdamūn/  
'You and those ancient forebears of yours?'

So far the object of our description, generally, has been to identify the morphological patterns of the comparative and superlative which are overtly marked by inflectional indications, and the semantic interpretations they reflect, but they may group themselves into semantic sub-sets corresponding to the different representation with appropriate surface structures.

The description will be undertaken in terms of the structural relationship 'modification' in the nominal phrase.

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.946, verse 1.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.565, verse 76.



B) Concord in the comparative and superlative adjectival modifiers

This section undertakes to examine the structure of modification with regard to this type of inflectional comparative adjectival, which is derived from active participial adjectivals, represented by the pattern ?afʕal followed by min 'than', and of phrasal comparatives which consist of an auxiliary comparative (e.g. ?aktaru ʔawalan) followed by a noun. Both devices were designated as being of this type of construction having the function of modifier with a noun as head. In this behaviour, the two constituents present in the structural configuration the relationship of modification i.e. head and modifier. However, in the following examples the inflexional comparative constructions are:

- |    |  |                    |  |
|----|--|--------------------|--|
|    | H  | M                  |  |
| a) | /ʕindī gulāmun                           | ?ajladu minhu/     | $\overbrace{\text{comp.} + \text{min}}^{\text{M}}$ |
|    | 'I have a more patient servant than him' |                    |  |
| b) | /baladun                                 | ?aktaru taqaddumā/ | $\overbrace{\text{aux.} + \text{noun}}^{\text{M}}$ |
|    | 'a more advanced country'                |                    |  |
| c) | /rajulun                                 | ?akbaru taʕāwunā/  | $\overbrace{\text{aux.} + \text{noun}}^{\text{M}}$ |
|    | 'a more helpful man'                     |                    |  |

Again, it is of immediate concern to us to mention that comparatives do not show concord with the head noun they modify in gender and number, i.e. the construction shows a morphologically unmarked modifier with a morphologically marked head noun but the situation is different with superlative forms, since they have gender

and number indications in accord with the head noun.

Thus, structures containing comparative adjectives contrast with those with superlative adjectives:

- a) /Taraʔat muṣkilatun ʔahwanu min gayrihā.../ (non-agreeing)  
'A problem easier than any other has (f.sing.)  
occurred suddenly...' (comp.M)
- b) /tumma Saḥibtuhu ʔilā riḥlatihi (agreeing)  
al-kubrā (f.sing.)  
'and I went with him in his biggest journey' (sup.M)
- a) /yamliku ḥadīqatayni ʔajmala min gayrihimā/ (non-agreeing)  
'He owns two gardens which are more (f.dual)  
beautiful than any others (comp.M)
- b) /al-ṣaḡīqatāni al-fuḍlayāni.../ (agreeing)  
'the best two full sisters (f.dual)  
(sup.M)
- a) /marartu bi fatayātin ʔafḍala min gayrihinn/ (non-agreeing)  
'I passed by some girls who are better (f.plural)  
than any others' (comp.M)
- b) /marartu bial-hindāti al-fuḍlayāt/ (agreeing)  
'I passed by the best Hinds' (f.plural)  
(sup.M)

The underlined elements presented above, though structurally modifying a feminine head, are classified with regard to concord into agreeing and non-agreeing since the former is carried out by a superlative form and the latter by a comparative form. The same holds true for the superlative and comparative forms with a

masculine head noun; except with a singular head, the comparative is similar to the superlative in having a full concord with the head noun involved.

C) Syntactic features of comparatives as modifiers

As was noted at the beginning of this section, comparatives are inflectional adjectives. That is to say, they differ from ordinary adjectives in that they are aspectually marked. However, all comparatives follow a fixed sequence, always following the noun they modify; they never precede it. In terms of structural classification, they are of one class: postmodifier. These are found in four different types of sequence, which are not of equal frequency of occurrence in texts. In order of frequency they are the following:

- a) The most common, comparative word + (compared item) + noun in the accusative
- b) The quite common, comparative word only
- c) The least common, comparative word + compared item.<sup>(1)</sup>

These can be briefly illustrated by comparing the examples presented below:

- a) postmodifier (aux. comp. + prep. phrase + adjective)  
 /intaSarū ṣalā ʔummatin ʔaṣḌama sulTānā/  
 'They conquered the greater nation as to power'

---

(1) Regardless the comparative forms which are related to God since they function with relation to Allah as superlative.

/wa ?innamā kānat baynanā wa bayna quwwatin ?aṣḍama  
 min hādā al-rajuli baʿsan wa ?aṣadda minhu nafādan  
 wa ?abʿada minhu ?atāran fī ḥayāti al-nās/

'But it was between us and a power which is greater  
 as to strength, more penetration and more effect in  
 people's life than this man'

- b) postmodifier (comparative form only) e.g.

/salaka bihā Tarīqan ?ajmala wa ?arwaṣ/

'and he took the language into more wonderful and  
 better way'

/... ?an yartafiṣū fī buḥūtihim ?ila malaʿin ?aṣlā  
 wa ʿālamīn ?asma/

'They should go up in their researches to the level  
 of a higher congregation and a more serene world'

- c) postmodifier (comparative + preposition + noun)

/tafsaḥu lahā majālan ?awsaʿa min majāliḥā  
 wa dāʿiratan ?arḥaba min dāʿiratiḥā/

'It gives (the language) a range wider than its  
 (original) range and an area wider than its (original)  
 area'

/Sāra yuqātiluhum bial-ṣaṣā ?aqwā mina al-silāḥ/

'He began to fight them with the stick more sturdily  
 than with the weapons'

In the previous examples, one notices that the  
 underlined constructions, though different in the  
 syntagmatic representations and frequency of occurrence,  
 serve as modifiers.

D) Syntactic subclassifications of comparative function

Comparatives can be subclassified according to whether they can function under the general label modifier, attributive or contrastive; the former is given for the attribution of a quality and the latter is acquired through the use of a prepositional phrase introduced by *min*. As we have already mentioned above, the comparatives are grammatically invariable in gender and number and are undefined, i.e. they are not prefixed by the definite article *al-* 'the', or by a following element in the genitive. Thus:

- a) An attributive is expressed by a basic comparative only or by a phrasal comparative with an expressed or ellipted prepositional phrase which is introduced by *min* 'than'.

Examples:

- (1) /ʔinna al-ʔumama tatasābaqu nahwa hayātin ʔakrama wa ʔargad/  
'Surely, the nations compete for a more pleasant and better life'
- (2) /marartu birajulin ʔafDala min ʔaxīh/  
'I passed by a man who is better than his brother'
- (3) /ʔindī gulāmun ʔaswadu ʔajladu minhu wa ʔaqwā/  
'I have a black boy stronger and more patient than him'
- (4) /marartu birajulin ʔakbara sinnā/  
'I passed by a man who is older'
- (5) /ʔaʔrifu rajulan ʔaktara minka jadālā/  
'I knew a more argumentative man than you'

b) The contrastive is seen through a characterizing (comparative) phrasal structure which, when the two compared entities are expressed, show that the quality in question is greater in the head noun than in the participant. In more precise terms, a sequence of a comparative form and a prepositional phrase, including the participant in a given structure of modification, should be treated as a phrasal structure consisting of the comparative form modified by the prepositional phrase, and serving as a modifier in a larger syntactic unit. For this, the syntactic sub-component of the whole phrase is what one can refer to as contrastive, its distinctive feature is established by the presence of the preposition *min*, which functions in comparative constructions, and must have the second term of the comparison expressed; on the other hand it functions also in comparative correlatives.<sup>(1)</sup>

Examples:

/ʕaysun ʔaDyaqu min sammi al-xiyāT/

'a narrower life than the eye of a needle'

/sarābun ʔasaddu sawādan mina al-ḥibr/

'a drink more black than ink'

In these examples, ʔaDyaqu 'narrower', and ʔasaddu sawādā 'more black', are a form-comparative, modified by the prepositional phrases *min sammi al-xiyāT* 'than the whole of a needle' and *mina al-ḥibr* 'than ink', are the second term, functioning respectively as a modifier with distinctive feature.

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(1) See Strang, op.cit., p.193.

Keeping in mind the above illustration, we notice that the classifications of 'attributive' and 'contrastive' share either a higher or a lower quantity of the feature expressed by the lexical meaning of a given comparative, which may be quite significant. Such types are linked to the lexical meanings: superior or inferior e.g.

a) /hādā rajulun sāmitun ʔaktara mimma yanbagī/

'This man is more silent than is necessary'

b) /lā tarDa biḥayātin ʔaqall/

'Do not accept a lower life'

c) /ʔinnahā hayātun ʔadnaku ʔaysā/

'Surely, it is a harder life as to living'

E) The superlative adjectival modifiers

As already pointed out in the introduction to the section on comparison, the superlative is kept distinct from the comparative by being syntactically marked as definite. In this case, the superlative is made definite by:

- 1) the article al- 'the', prefixed to the basic comparative form,
- 2) the annexation of a comparative form to a definite or indefinite element.

Accordingly, the superlatives have the following characteristics:

- (1) With the definite article, the superlative is variable in gender and number, in agreement with the governed head noun e.g. huwa al-faṭḥu al-ʔaṣḍam 'It is the greatest





- 4) /hādāni rajulān (ʔahsanā) al-qawm/  
(ʔahsanu)

'(These are the two men (who are)) the best of people'  
(These are the best two men)

3) With an annexed indefinite element, the form of the superlative thus is unchangeable in terms of gender and number e.g.

- 1) qābaltu (rajulan) ʔakrama rajul/

'I met (a man (who was) the most generous of men),  
(the most generous man )

- 2) /...ʔan (muʔjizātīn ) ʔaʔḍami muʔjizāt/

'... of miracles (which were) the greatest miracles'

- 3) /qābaltu (rajulāyni) ʔakrama rajulayn/

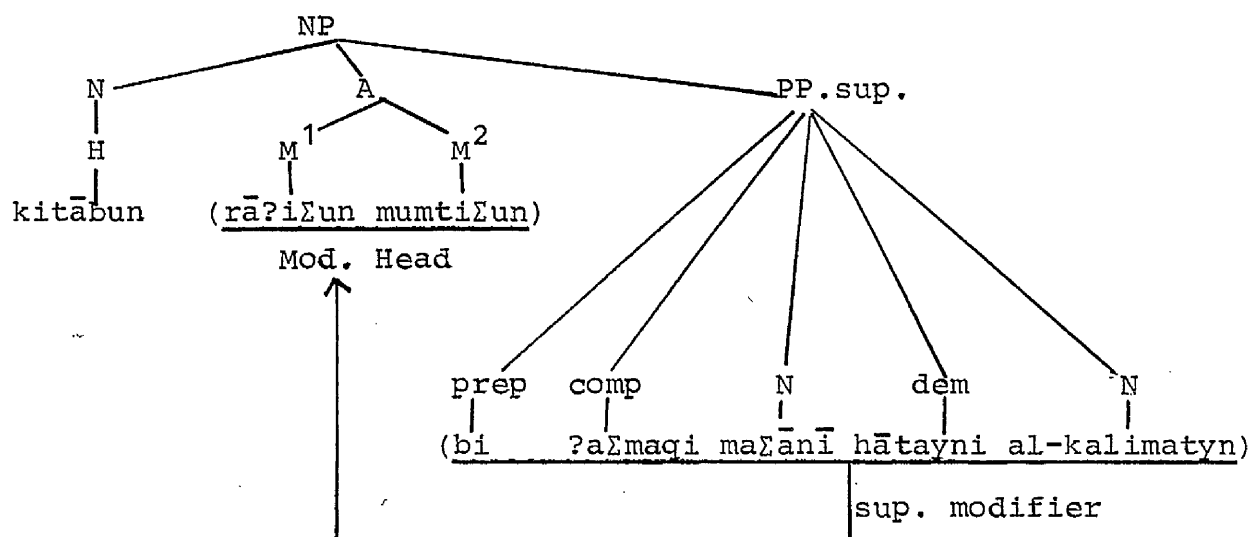
'I met (two men (who were) the most generous of men),  
(the two most generous men)

- 4) /qābaltu (rijālan) ʔakrama rijāl/

'I met (men (who were) the most generous of men'  
(the most generous men

Furthermore, there are a number of constructions in which three elements are brought into combination as characteristics of a superlative phrase. This is when the superlative constructions under (2) and (3) occur after the preposition min 'from', or fi 'in', or bi 'by', 'in'. To take the underlined examples, rajulun min ʔaʔraqi ʔusrah 'a man from the most deep-rooted family', ʔālimun min ʔahsani al-ʔulamāʔ 'a scholar from the best scholars', laqad laqqanahum al-faḍīlata fī ʔasmā Suwarihā 'He has taught them moral excellence in its highest manner', and ʔinnahu ṭālibun nājihun bi ʔaʔlā al-darajāt 'He is a student who has passed the examination with the highest honours' are

analyzable as a superlative combination, and the constructional sequence preposition + comparative form + noun in genitive, i.e. they constitute a phrasal superlative. Moreover, a phrasal superlative may be made up of a preposition + comparative form + noun and nominal phrase in the genitive, as in hādā kitābun rāʔiṣun mumtiṣun biʔaṣmaqi maṣānī hātayni al-kalimatayn 'This is a wonderful and enjoyable book in the deepest senses of these (two) words (i.e. rāʔiṣun and mumtiṣun)'. The whole structure, however, is a representative of superlative functioning as a modifier to the two first modifiers (rāʔiṣun and mumtiṣun). So superlative constructions such as this example and the one before it are similarly modifiers to an initial modifier and the relationship is established in terms of the adjective modifier, which can be itself modified, i.e. having the same syntactic operation. This type of modification can be diagrammed as follows:



F) Syntactic types of superlative as modifiers

Being superlative terms, the representative constructions may function in the syntactic structure in all the ways open to any other free element. That is to say, contrary to the comparative (although superlatives are considered here as dependent) a superlative may show the syntactic feature of independent status (i.e. be the Head). Yet it is very common for a superlative to function as a modifier to the head noun.

Compare:

- a) /huwa al-matalu al-ʔaʔlā/  
'He is the highest ideal'
- b) /al-ʔafḍalu ʔan tusāfir/  
'The best thing is for you to travel'
- c) /ʔinnahu al-ʔakbaru sinnā/  
'Surely, he is the oldest one as regards age'

The points to be mentioned here are that:

- (1) In (a) the superlative representative retains its syntactic dependent status appropriate to a modifier. To put it in structural terms, the construction representing the superlative uniformly (with the article) shows the syntactic and semantic configuration of dependent status by its use as an optional element and its position as modifier in relation to the head noun.
- (2) In (b) and (c) superlative constructions resemble (a) in that they are formally expressed in the same way, and differ in that they are structurally considered

as heads when they occupy the position of head rather than modifier.

(3) They have a semantic interpretation of 'superior comparison' in the sense that the noun with which the superlative adjective is used is in contrast with inferiors. Thus, the semantic relationship (be it explicit as in (a) and (c) or implicit as in (b)) is the superior relationship marked by the article al- 'the'.

Keeping these points in mind, for the corresponding types, it is worth mentioning in this respect, by way of comparison, that the argument given above is valid for the superlative of genitive construction, and furthermore the syntactic and semantic relationships are not as easily analysable as it seems at first sight. On closer examination, the types of structures included in the examples below illustrate that superlative constructions, which are represented by a uniform comparative form and a noun in the genitive, may occur syntactically either as a modifier or as a head depending on its position; a deeper analysis shows that there is a semantico syntactic sub-component whose output is the input to the relationship which holds between the structural elements in superlative-genitive within a given structure.

Compare:

1a) /kānū ?āminīna ?aʔDama al-?amn/

'They were secure (in) the greatest security'

1b) /quraysun ?afDalū al-nāsi ?islāmā/

'The people of Quraish are the best as regards Islam'

- 1c) /ʔufDalʊ al-ʔawqāti sarxu al-sabāb/  
 'The best of times are early youth'
- 2a) /istamaʔtu ʔilā Sawtin ʔajmali Sawt/  
 'I heard a voice (which was) the most beautiful voice'
- 2b) /hāʔulāʔi ʔaʔDamu al-quwwādi xibrah/  
 'These are the greatest leaders as regards experience'
- 2c) /namat ʔajmalu al-ḥadārāti fī al-qurūni al-wusṭā/  
 'The most elegant civilization grew up in the Middle Ages'

If we examine the nominal phrases in the above illustrations, we note that the modification by superlative construction may be designated on syntactic and semantic features as follows:

- (i) In (a), they involve a three-element modification, by which is meant a two-element noun employed as head and one-element comparative adjective modifier. This type, however, increases by one-element, namely the head, the number of the constituents serving in the modification involved. The syntactic effect of this is that the structural elements will be a representation of two nominal phrases in which case they constitute one NP, by their structural relationships. So structurally this type may be marked off by the following characteristics:
- (ia) Superlative constructions here occupy the position of modifier in a nominal phrase, and further they essentially appear in association with an obligatory sequential element.
- (ib) Syntactically, in terms of participant roles, the structural elements: (ʔaminīn) 'predicate' and (Sawt)

'object' are head in the primary NP, and the comparative adjectives (?aΣDama) and (?ajmali) with their coterminous head are modifier.

(ic) Semantically the structure consists of a primary head ?āminīna followed by a modifying phrase ?aΣDama al-?amn in which ?aΣDam is premodifier to al-?amn.

In the analyses (1b) and (1c), we clearly have two different considerations, and - as would be expected - they give rise to different syntactic and semantic representations.

The above features are given briefly in these two diagrams:-

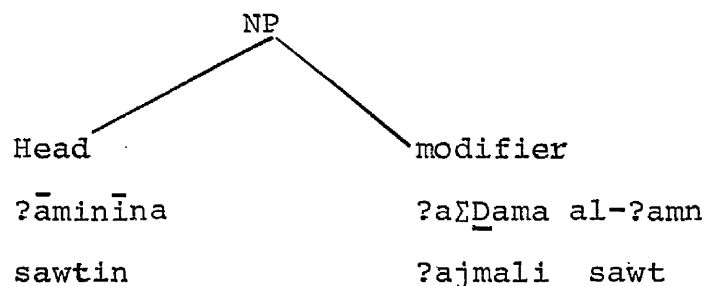


Figure (1) syntactic structure

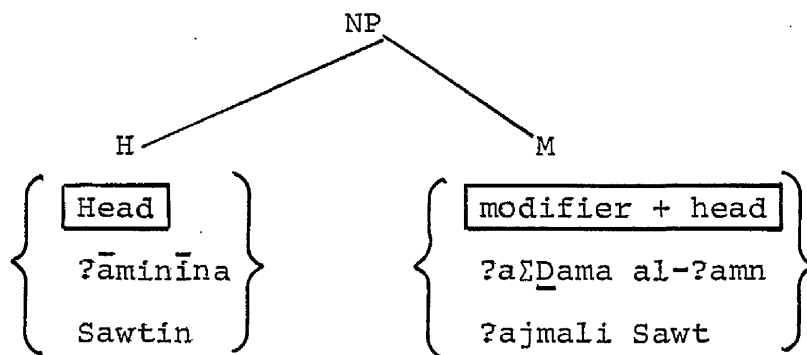


Figure (2) semantic structure

(ii) In (b), again the nominal phrases include a three element modification in which a two-element comparative adjective and noun are modifier and a one-element noun is the head. From the point of view of the relationship of modification holding between the structural elements of this type, we note that the items which occur in the predicate position (modifier + head), are primarily grouped together to realise the Head of that element of structure which may follow it: this is called optional modifier.

Therefor examples like (?afDalū al-nāsi islāmā) and (?aṣṢḌamu al-quwwādi xibrah) may be analysed on syntactic and semantic grounds in two ways, and so differ from the types of (a). Since the elements modifier (?islāmā and xibrah) syntactically modify the preceding structure together, and semantically, as might appear from the segmentation of these two nominal phrases, they modify the element at modifier position (i.e. ?afDal and ?aṣṢḌam). The mechanism of this type may be diagrammed as follows:

Figure (1) Syntactic structure

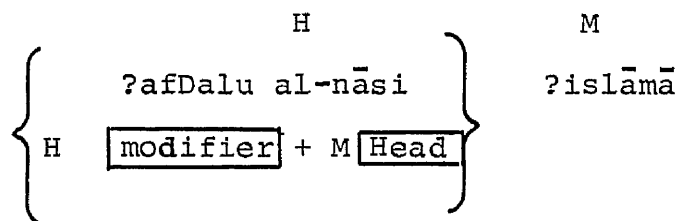
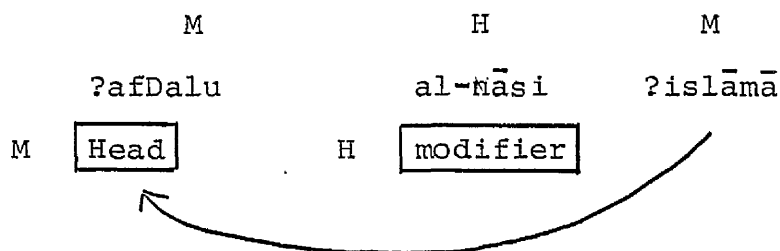


Figure (2) Semantic structure



(iii) In (c) the superlative construction which occurs in the subject may, as was established before, be analysed semantically as modifier + head followed by predicate as in (?afDalū al-?awqāti sarxu al-sabāb) or by qualifier as in (?ajmalū al-ḥadārāti fī al-qurūni al-wustā).

Finally, the superlative constructions in (b) and (c) throughout are similar in that they have semantic functions appropriate to modifier; directly as in (b) or indirectly as in (c), since the annexing plural element denotes a category within which the entity described by the intensified pattern constitutes one item.<sup>(1)</sup> But they contrast with those marked (a) which occupy the position of modifier in that, here, they occupy the position of head, and function as modifier in terms of the sub-syntactic component.

At this point, it is worth pointing out that although the above illustrations represent separately the syntactic and semantic functions, they nevertheless reveal their function quite clearly; in contrast with constructions which have the same pattern, but are proper nouns or physical adjectives. Each type can easily be recognized from the context, and it is this which will determine the distinction between the two contrasting syntactic usages below which however have an identical string. Compare for instance the following examples in the two lists below.

---

(1) See Beeston, op.cit., p.58.



(1)

/Sāhibu al-fitnati al-ʔuḏmā/

'He is of the greatest  
civil strife'

/al-bintu al-kubrā

'the oldest girl'

/al-makānu al-ʔaqṣā/

'the farthest place'

/ḥādā ʔamrun ʔaʔsaru

al-ʔumūri ḥallā/

'This is a matter (which  
is) most difficult as  
regards solution'

/ʔinnahu rajulun ʔamradu

al-nās/

'Surely he is the hardest  
of men'

(2)

/biriṭānya al-ʔuḏmā/

'the Great Britain'

/al-duwalu al-kubrā/

'the Great powers'

/al-masjidu al-ʔaqṣā/

'the Far Mosque

/rajulun ʔaʔsaru (al-yad)<sup>∅</sup>

'a left-handed man'

/rajulun ʔamradu (al-liḥyah)<sup>∅</sup>/

'a beardless man'

In many of these examples such as al-masjidu al-ʔaqṣā and al-duwalu al-kubrā, the total construction has become a proper name and therefore no comparison is implied. In the case of ʔaʔsar and ʔamrad the adjectives enter into the class of physical defect adjectives.

A further point should be made about the syntactic ambiguity of a special superlative construction in which the annexing entity term is plural. In other words, when the pattern is annexed to a defined plural entity term, the construction may give rise to ambiguity. Constructions

like the following type of structure are syntactically ambiguous.

(1) /jāʔa ʔaʕḌamu al-rijāl/

(2) /ḥāraḇa ʔaṣjaʕu al-junūd/

Although in nominal interpretations (the two underlined constructions in (1) and (2)) will be interpreted as 'The greatest man came', and 'The most brave soldier fought', they can also be interpreted 'The greatest men came', and 'The most brave soldiers fought'. The ambiguity results from the fact that the elements ʔaʕḌam and ʔaṣjaʕ admit grammatically a deleted head noun, i.e. underlying in (1) and (2) their normal interpretations, are the appropriate singular head noun of the superlative phrasal construction as in jāʔa al-rajulu ʔaʕḌamu al-rijāl 'The man (who is) the greatest man among men came', and ḥāraḇa al-jundiyyu ʔaṣjaʕu al-junūd 'The soldier (who is) the most brave soldier among soldiers fought'. On the other hand, the annexed plurals al-rijāl and al-junūd, in the surface structure may suggest that a deleted plural noun may be considered; giving in (1) and (2) the other potential interpretations i.e. jāʔa al-rijālu ʔaʕḌamu al-rijāl 'The men (who are) the greatest men came', and ḥāraḇa al-junūdu ʔaṣjaʕu al-junūd 'The soldiers (who are) the most brave soldiers fought'. The ambiguity of these instances, however, as we stated above, can be resolved by inserting the appropriate noun, or by being in annexation with an indefinite plural, such as jāʔa ʔaʕḌamu rijāl 'The greatest men came', and ḥāraḇa ʔaṣjaʕu junūd 'The most brave soldiers fought'.

Furthermore, the surface structure of superlative phrasal construction, as pointed out earlier, may also suggest that the annexed plural behaves like the underlying head noun under the operation of modification in so far as the intensified pattern is premodifier and the plural element is head. This assumption is based upon the fact that the latter but not the former can stand syntactically as a free form. Thus, in the examples quoted earlier, we can say:

(1) /jāʔa al-rijāl/ 'The men came'

but not

\*jāʔa ʔaʕḍam

(2) /ḥāraba al-junūd/ 'The soldiers fought'

but not

\*ḥārab ʔaʕjaʕ

#### G) Syntactic subclassification of superlative function

Like comparatives, superlatives are also subject to subclassifications according to their function as modifier, or rather to their syntactic relationship with the head noun involved. In order to get the picture clear and to render syntactic analysis exact we advocate a linguistic description based exclusively upon the morphological characteristics of the superlative. It is thus that such relationships are seen subsyntactically, and that the recognition of each relation is related to the formal properties correlating with the demonstrable syntactic properties.

As illustrated above, syntactically all superlative constructions are attribute whatever their structural realization, since they are descriptively attributed to the head noun they modify. Further, there are three notable sub-functions associated with the attributive function in which they can be perceived. These are:

(i) Singularity, which is shared by all superlatives, where the superlative is formally singularizing the head noun e.g.

a) /lā ?asukku fī ?anna lil-qur?āni al-?atara al-?akbara fī faSāhatihā/  
 'I have no doubt that the Holy Qur'ān has the greatest effect on the purity of language'

b) /kataba risālatan ?ajmala risālatin xaTTā/  
 'He wrote a letter (which is) the most beautiful as to writing style'.

In these two examples, the head elements al-?atara 'the effect', and risālatan 'a letter', are being singularized by the modificatory elements al-?akbara 'the greatest', and ?ajmala risālatin 'the most beautiful letter', which are superlative marked by the article al- and annexation respectively; they have singularizing function upon the head noun. So structurally, there is one element that is singularized and another which serves to singularize.

(ii) Identificatory, which is represented by a superlative that is marked by the article al- e.g.

a) / fayuṣaddibuhu allāhu al-ṣadāba al-?akbar/  
 'him will God cause to suffer the greatest suffering (in the life to come)' (1)

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.949, verse 24.

b) /fī al-ʔarDī al-suflā/

'in the lowest earth'

In this feature (i.e. with al-), the elements al-ʔadāb 'the suffering', and al-ʔarD 'the earth', as head are identified by the elements al-ʔakbar 'the greatest' and al-suflā 'the lowest' respectively which, in semantic terms, are equal to a relative clause. That is, the head is linguistically identified through the modification that has been supplied for identification.. The two elements figuring in the structural representation of the superlative NP are semantically variable in which the second element (i.e. the superlative) is referentially identifying what is given in the first so that the identification takes place.

(iii) Equative, where the superlative constructions are seen in annexation or in a phrase which is stated to be in one form, as in:

a) /fatabāraka allāhu ʔaḥsanu al-xāliqīn/

'Hallowed, therefore, is God, the best of artisans',<sup>(1)</sup>

b) /nazala al-qurʔānu al-karīmu bilugati quraysin:

ʔafSahi lugāti al-ʔarabi lafDān wa ʔarqāhā ʔuslūban  
wa ʔaktarihā duyūʔā/

'The Holy Qurʔān was revealed in the language of Quraish (which is considered to be) the most eloquent and frequent among the Arab languages as regard word, style and use'

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.520, verse 14.

c) /yantamī ?ilā ?usratin min ?asrafi ?usarihā/

'He is related to a family (that is descended) from  
the most distinguished families of it (the village)'

To summarize, the structural features exhibited by the above examples show that the function 'singularity' is performed by the simple and complex superlatives, whereas 'identificatory' is performed by the simple superlative and 'equative' is seen through the complex since the two NPs involved have unique reference so that they are replaceable. In this way, equative is another interpretation of the appositive relation, which can be replaced by a corresponding non-restrictive relative clause.

## CHAPTER VI

### POSTPOSITIONAL NOUN MODIFIERS IN APPPOSITION

#### FUNCTION AND FOCUS

##### Introduction

In the previous chapter our treatment of adjectives involved the so-called 'attributive function of nouns'. This chapter, generally speaking, is devoted to dealing with the appositive and determinative functions of nouns, that are involved in appositional and genitive structures respectively. The nomenclature of each function rests upon the assumption that nouns which occur in the post-posed noun head of NN structures express 'apposition' or 'determination' which is, by its structural configuration, assigned and which is confined to modify the preceding head noun in which the former may have restrictive or non-restrictive function, and the latter is a qualitative. This analysis lends credit to what Cantarino and Wright suggest about the functions of apposition and the genitive. The following two quotations may illustrate this credit:

"The nouns in apposition, or appositives, are usually considered either as restrictive or as non-restrictive (parenthetical). In general, a restrictive apposition specifies or identifies the meaning of a noun and is therefore necessary for a correct understanding of the sentence. A non-restrictive apposition merely adds information about, or new aspects to, a noun already identified." (1)

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(1) See Cantarino, V. Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose, The Expanded Sentence, vol. 2, 1975, p.68.

"The determined noun is called by the Arab grammarians al-muḏāfu the annexed; the determining noun, al-muḏafu ṭilayh that to which annexation is made or to which another word is annexed; and the relation subsisting between them is known as al-ṭiḏāfatu the annexation. European grammarians are accustomed to say that the determined or governing word is in the status constructus." (1)

Another distinctive characteristic of this determinative function is that the term determination, in genitive cases, refers to a quality designated by the modifying word as is the case with <sup>H</sup>Safāʔu <sup>M</sup>al-māʔ 'the limpidness of the water' and <sup>H</sup>tawbu <sup>M</sup>harīrin 'a dress of silk', for instance, contrasting to the determination by a definite article, which is based on the demonstrative. To quote:

"Determination by a genitive is on a qualitative basis, contrary to determination by a definite article, which is demonstrative" (2)

and

"By the genitive is indicated: (a) the person to whom (or the thing to which) the quality designated by the governing word belongs, as hikmatu allāhi the wisdom of God;..." (3)

Further discussions and more functions, in this connection, are given by the present writer. That is to say, a close scrutiny of both structures with their various representations of relations showed that such structures have certain functions. Rather, an idea could be said regarding these assumed structures. That is to say, references will be made when the structure is marked

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- (1) See Wright, op.cit., vol.2, p.198.  
 (2) See Cantarino, op.cit., vol.2, p.92.  
 (3) See Wright, op.cit., vol.2, p.199.



for focus. In other words, the user of the language may resort to reordering the normal sequence of a nominal phase of some syntactic structures to indicate that a certain element is being put in focus in the structural configuration.

However, in terms of constructs, the most striking characteristic that appositional and genitive structures have in common is that they are noun constructs. That is to say, in the appositional phrase, a noun construct is a combination of two nouns; both with the same syntactical function, and in a genitive phrase, the noun construct is a combination made of two nouns syntactically united.

#### The Grammatical Types of Appositional Phrases

It is illustrated in the above chapter on adjectives how nouns appear in attributive function. Here in appositional phrases, however, the procedure is somewhat different since the possible structural configurations of nouns are considerably several because of the syntactical reasons that will be adduced in the description of these types.

These types of appositional phrase are represented according to the possible combinations of the head and modifier with regard to the feature (definiteness) or (indefiniteness). Each type will be discussed under a general title that shows its distinguishable function on semantic and syntactic grounds.

Type I: Apposition of identical items:

In a construction of this type, both terms of apposition are either definite or indefinite nouns.

Set I: Definite

- a) /fī al-xaṣaʔiṣi liʔabī al-fathī ibni jinnī/  
'in the Khaṣā'is by Abi al-fath, the son of jinni'
- b) /wa wahabnā lahu min raḥmatinā ʔaxāhu hārūna nabiyyā/  
'and (how), out of our grace, we granted unto him brother Aaron, to be a prophet (by his side)', (1)
- c) /xuḍ al-nabla al-mudā/  
'take the arrows, but no knives'
- d) /qutila ʔaṣḥābu al-ʔuxdūdi al-nāri dāti al-waqūd/  
'THEY DESTROY (but) themselves, they who would ready a pit of fire fiercely burning (for all who have attained to faith)', (2)
- e) /ʔinna al-kitābata al-fanniyyata Ḍaharat ʔawwala mā Ḍaharat Ṣalā yadi sālīmīn mawlā hiṣām/  
'surely, the scientific writing was started first of all by Sālīm'
- f) /baharani al-Ṣilmu taqaddumuh/  
'I was dazzled by science - its progress'
- g) /xaṭaba bintahu suʔād/  
'He got engaged to his daughter, Soʔād'
- h) /...al-rasūli muḥammadin Ṣalayhi al-salām/  
'the messenger, Mohammad (peace be upon him)'

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.463, verse 53.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.942, verses 4 and 5.

- i) /wa laqad ʔarsalnā ʔilā tamūda ʔaxāhum Sālihan.../  
 'AND (likewise), indeed, we sent unto (the tribe of)  
 Thamūd their brother Sālih' (1)

Set II: Indefinite

- a) /wa sarawhu bitamanin baxsin darāhima maʔdūdah/  
 'and they sold him for a partly price - a mere few  
 silver coins' (2)
- b) /ʔinna liilmuttaqīna mafāzan hadāʔiqa wa ʔaʔnābā/  
 '(But,) verily, for the God-conscious there is  
 supreme fulfilment in store: luxuriant gardens and  
 vineyards' (3)
- c) /wa laqad ʔaSgaytu ʔilā kalimatin xuTbah/  
 'and I have listened to speech, public address'
- d) /wa yusqā min māʔin sadīd/  
 'he shall be given to drink water, watery humour  
 (or matter)' (4)
- e) /laqad kāna lisabaʔin fī maskanihim ʔāyatun jannatān/  
 'INDEED, in (the luxuriant beauty of) their homeland,  
 the people of Sheba had an evidence (of God's grace) -  
 two (vast expanses of) gardens' (5)
- f) /ʔaw kaffāratun Taʔāmu masākīn/  
 'or else he may atone for his sin by feeding the  
 needy' (6)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.582, verse 45.  
 (2) Asad, ibid., p.339, verse 20.  
 (3) Asad, ibid., p.924, verses 31 and 32.  
 (4) See Wright, op.cit., vol.2, p.286.  
 (5) See Asad, op.cit., p.657-58, verse 15.  
 (6) See Asad, ibid., p.163, verse 95.

- g) /fī hādā al-hadīti ?adā?un tamtīlun yaxlubu al-?albāb/  
'in this speech there is a performance, act that  
enchants the minds'
- h) /Darabtu wa Darabanī nāsun: banū fulān/  
'I beat someone and I have been beaten by Banū fulān'

We notice that these two sets include the appositional constructions; each construction is a representation of modification,<sup>(1)</sup> although syntactically the relationship is between equals. However, they have the syntactic feature 'appositive' which shows usually coreference and grammatical similarity with the substituted word (Head). But they differ in that in set (I) the appositives are definite which is identical to the element A.H. (Appositive Head), whereas in (II) they are indefinite. In this way Arabic behaves like English, with few exceptions. To quote:

"Apposition resembles coordination in linking units having grammatical affinity. But, in addition, for units to be appositives, they must normally be identical in reference or else the reference of one must be included in the reference of the other"<sup>(2)</sup>

Working from this similarity, the idea of equality between the two elements involved is based on the fact that they have the same referent and grammatical feature so that the omission of either appositional elements in a given sentence would not affect the sentence which would be acceptable and synonymous sentence. As Quirk puts it,

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- (1) For more information about using the term modifier for appositive, see Francis, W.N., The Structure of American English, p.301.
- (2) See Quirk et al., op.cit., p.276.

"In many cases the co-reference and grammatical similarity will permit the omission of either appositive unit with a resultant acceptable and synonymous sentence." (1)

This precise syntactic criterion of equality shows that either of the appositional elements can be deleted without affecting the sentence syntax. To illustrate this the following examples are given as representative:

- 1a) /wa ʔaslama ʔaxūhu bujayr/  
'and Bujair, his brother became a muslim'
- 1b) /ʔaslama bujayr/  
'Bujair became a muslim'
- 1c) /ʔaslama ʔaxūh/  
'His brother became a muslim'
- 2a) /fataha miSra ʔamrun ibnu al-ʔās/  
'Amr, the son of El-ʔās has conquered Egypt'
- 2b) /fataha miSra ibnu al-ʔās/  
'the son of El-ʔās has conquered Egypt'
- 2c) /fataha miSra ʔamr/  
'Amr has conquered Egypt'
- 3a) /kallamtu al-rajula zaydā/  
'I spoke to the man, Zayd'
- 3b) /kallamtu zaydā/  
'I spoke to Zayd'
- 3c) /kallamtu al-rajul/  
'I spoke to the man'

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(1) Quirk, et al., ibid., p.276.

In terms of appositional relationships, the underlined elements show that the primary element fulfils the roles of substituted word + head, so the primary element, in nominal phrase, is the head of the appositive + modifier, fulfilled by the presence of the second element, as in (a) along the above examples. The analysis is so because the appositive elements which fulfil the appositional structure do figure in the structural representation of these types. Thus, the absence of either appositives produces a grammatical and acceptable sentence, which according to its structural configuration involves no apposition; since it does not meet the condition, as in (b) and (c) along the above examples.

Type II: Apposition of variable items

In this type, apposition is the product of a syntactic relationship between a definite and indefinite noun and vice versa. The indefiniteness of one element in a given sequence of appositional structure is a distinctive characteristic of the variable type, which is a characteristic feature of unequal apposition, and marks the syntactic status of the two elements concerned. In such cases no appositive replaces the other in the surface syntax of the structure, contrary to the situation in the preceding two sets of type I, though structurally and logically the replacement is possible. As an illustration, consider:

- a) /lanasfaʕan bial-nāSiyati nāSiyatin kaḏibah/  
 'we will seize and drag (him) by the forelock,  
 a lying sinful forelock' (1)
- b) /wa ʔinnaka latahdī ʔilā Sirāṭin mustaqīmīn Sirāṭi  
 allāh/  
 'onto the straight way - the way that leads to God' (2)
- a) /wa ʔida huwa yarā al-Taliba sayxā/  
 'there he saw the student, an old sheikh'
- b) /fī madīnatin Tāhīratin baladī al-ʔamānah/  
 'in a pure city, the land of honesty'

### The structural patterns of apposition

As we illustrated in the above section, it is possible to designate various types defined in terms of the grammatical features of the appositional nominal phrase. In this section, the structural patterns are also shown to be of various configurations according to the constitutional combinations that are present in the two constituent nominal phrases.

As was the case with adjectives in the previous chapter, these are patterns of nominal phrase, and are virtually representing all the possible combinations of units with regard to the structure of appositives. Each pattern will be discussed under a comparable heading that shows its syntactic function.

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(1) Wright, op.cit., vol.II, p.285.

(2) Asad, op.cit., p.748, verses 52 and 53.

(1) Simple structure

As already pointed out, the two units appositive<sup>(1)</sup> head and appositive modifier are constituents of simple structures and also of nominal phrases within sentences. Concentrating on this pattern of elements which are normally obligatory for realizing simple apposition, we can distinguish two simple patterns: that is, patterns which occur as Appositive NP constructions in surface structures under the following conditions:

- a) They represent an immediate constituent of appositives.
- b) They have meaning, in the sense that an appositive modifier denotes imputed characteristics of the appositive head to which an associated noun refers.
- c) The reference of both terms is normally identical or at least the reference of one is included in the reference of the other, such as ʕaliyyun ibnu ʔabī Tālib 'Ali, the son of Abu Talib', and jāʔa ʔaxī marawān 'my brother Marawan came'. Nevertheless, in some cases, the appositives may show a non-coreferent structure.
- d) The syntactic structure is fulfilled by the presence of the appositive modifier, i.e., the ANP constructions have appositive relationship by virtue of the noun phrase being followed by a second noun phrase immediately with no intervening major constituent element.

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(1) In using the terms unit and appositive for both head and modifier, we follow Quirk, see op.cit., pp.276-77.



The two structures can be expressed thus:

- (1) Coreferent structure  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{NP}^1 + \text{NP}^2 \end{array} \right\}$  where  $\text{NP}^1 = \text{NP}^2$

- a) /ʔaqsam biallāh ʔabūhafSin ʔumar/  
'Abū Hafṣ 'Omar swore by God'
- b) /wa ʔiḍ qāla ʔibrāhimu liʔabīhi ʔāzara.../  
'AND LO, (this) spoke Abraham unto his father Azar' (1)
- c) /jāʔat fāTimatu bintuhu al-kubrā/  
'Fatima, his oldest daughter came'

- (2) Non-coreferent structure:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{NP}^1 \quad \text{NP}^2 \end{array} \right\} + \text{pro suffix}$   
where the pro suffix =  $\text{NP}^1$

- a) /ʔaʔjabani zaydun ʔilmuh/  
'I admired Zayd, his knowledge'
- b) /dafaʔa al-ṭamana niṣfah/  
'he paid the price - half of it'
- c) /ʔālaja al-Tabību al-walada yadah/  
'the doctor treated the boy, his hand'

- (3) Distributional structure:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{NP}^1 \quad \text{NP}^2 \\ \text{NP}^1 \quad \text{NP}^2 \quad \text{NP}^3 \end{array} \right\}$

- a) /yarjiʔūna ʔilā ʔuṣūlin ṭalātatin; rabīʔata wa muDara  
wa al-yaman/  
'they are related to three roots; Rabī'ah, Muḍar and  
alyaman'

Structures like these have been studied syntactically under different syntactic labels; /*ʕaṭfu al-bayān and al-bada/*<sup>(1)</sup> as used by the Arab grammarians, and which are syntactic/semantic terms; as is the case in this study. In such structures, we not only seek to make plain that there is a syntactic and semantic parallelism (generally speaking appositive and explicative) between the two terms involved, but also to show that the two exponents mark off the syntactic structure of the NP (i.e. head and modifier) that is considered on the basis of the structural relationship of the simple structure. What is of immediate concern here is that such a semantic interpretation is possible, depending on the kind of appositional relationship between the two terms, such as 'restrictive' and 'non-restrictive'.

Furthermore, the most striking feature here is that some of the above examples contain a suffixed pronoun which is attached to the appositive modifier, and coterminous with the appositive head as 2(a), (b) and (c).

(ii) Structures showing indicators of apposition

There are a relatively small class of appositions which show specialised syntactic markers. The majority of the markers can be inserted between the appositives, and their occurrence explicitly may indicate apposition. The following examples illustrate briefly how these indicators

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(1) These terms represent "explanatory" and "substitutional" types of apposition respectively.

operate in the designation of the indicative appositive types.

The nominal elements below represent the appositives which are seen in association with an indicator. Consider:

- 1) /mā haDara al-qawmu ?illā wāḥid/  
'none of the tribe came, but one'
- 2) /mā fī al-bayti ?illa rajuḷ/  
'there is no-one in the house, but a man'
- 3) /mā qāma ?aḥadun gayru ʿaliyy/  
'there was no one who stood up, except 'Ali'
- 4) /mā qāma gayru ʿaliyy/  
'there was no one who stood up, except 'Ali'
- 5) /mā qāma ?illā zaydun ?aḥad/  
'there was no one who stood up, except Zayd'  
'there was one except Zayd, who stood up'

In all of these examples (1), (2), (3) and (4) the markers ?illā or gayr separate AP<sup>1</sup> and AP<sup>2</sup> either actually or potentially. In sentences like (2) and (4) AP<sup>1</sup> is omitted and the sentences stand for something like ma fī al-bayti (?aḥadun) ?illā rajul and mā qāma (?aḥadun or al-jalisūna) gayru ʿaliyy respectively. In example (5), a transposition occurs from a sentence like type (3) and the particle ?illā still separates the two members in the underlying structure. Certain other sentences occur of the type:

- 6) /mā haDara ?illā wāḥidun, al-suʿarā?/  
'only one (group) came, the poets'

Rather, it seems convenient to bring here similar cases of ellipsis, except those discussed above, where the initial appositive head, which is disjoined by particles

like ?illā, is ellipted for contextual reason in a way that an appropriate element can be ellipted in, and the second appositive modifier is associated with an attributive element (see Chapter V) e.g. mā bi al-dāri (dayyārūn) ?illa al-xādimu biṣr 'there is not anyone at home, except the servant (Bishr)'. Ellipsis is intended for the following syntactic and semantic considerations:

- a) The initial appositive here has undergone omission; and occurs in a structure where the focus is given to the elements after ?illa. This contrasts with an alternative expression, which does not ellipt the initial appositive in surface structure, and where it is in focus. In other words, the main reason for ellipsis here is that by omitting an initial appositive attention is focussed on the appositive modifier (i.e. al-xādimu biṣr) and vice versa.
- b) Ellipsis, however, is used to avoid repetition, in a structure given in response to a direct question being asked by the hearer. Thus, the above sentence is understood as a possible answer to a question of the following form hal bial-dāri dayyār? 'is there anyone at home?'

Again, the omitted element can simply be realised at its initial position. That is, when the speaker wants to introduce the idea that the initial appositive (head) is the element that he wishes to give focus on. Hereby, the implicit appositive can be expressed overtly at the surface structure, and it implies an extension of scope

to the element subsequence to ?illā and apposed to the first element.

Let us adduce some examples in support of the above analysis. Compare the following sentences in which a) throughout has forms marked by stress on the element following ?illā and b) has forms marked by stress on the element preceding ?illā which is in this case not deleted.

- a) /mā jā?ani [ ] ?illā al-nābigu ʕaliyy/  
'none came to me, except the brilliant 'Ali'
- b) /mā jā?ani min ?ahadin ?illā al-nābigu ʕaliyy/  
'none came to me, except the brilliant 'Ali'
- a) /mā dahabtu [ ] ?illā lil-Sadiqi muxtār/  
'I have not gone to anyone, except (my friend Mukhtār'
- b) /mā dahabtu li?ahadin ?illā lil-Sadiqi muxtār/  
'I have not gone to anyone, except (my friend Mukhtār'
- a) /mā ?axTa?a [ ] ?illā rajulun mutasarriʕ/  
'None made a mistake, except a hasty man'
- b) /mā ?axTa?a al-mutakallimūn ?illā rajulun mutasarriʕ/  
'None of the speakers made a mistake, except a hasty man'

Continuing our series of structures showing indicators of apposition on p.447 the following seven sentences are given:

- 8) /mā jā?a hasanun bal mahmūd/  
'Hasan did not come, but rather Mahmoud'
- 9) /wa lā taḥsabanna alladīna qutilū fī sabīli allāh  
?amwātan bal ?ahyā?un.../

- 'but do not think of those that have been slain in God's cause as dead. Nay, they are alive!' (1)
- 10) /sā'id al-ganiyya bal al-faqīr/  
'do not help the rich man, but rather the poor'
- 11) /kāna min ?awwali ?amrihi Tulaṣatan, ?ay katīru al-taṭalluṣ/  
'he was from his beginning curious, i.e. of great curiosity'
- 12) /qad taṣawwada mataḥ daxala al-kuttāba ?an yaxlaṣa Ṣabā?atahu, ?aw bi-Ṣibāratin ?adaqqa "diffiyyatah"/  
'he was accustomed to taking off his woollen wrap when he enters(ed) the Qurān school, or in more accurate terms his loose woollen cloak'
- 13) /fa?ahdāfu al-tarbiyati - ?aw bi al-?ahrā al-tarbiyati al-?islāmiyyati - wāḥidah/  
'and the aims of the education, or rather the Islamic education is unique'
- 14) /ya gulāmu biṣr/  
'O boy, Biṣr'

So far, three points must be stressed here: (a) These indicators of apposition, as was put above, occur to mark appositional phrases, and express, further, certain semantic relationships between the appositives by appearing in cases of apposition (see below), although they have been traditionally dealt with under various headings other

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.94, verse 169.

than indicators. The nomenclature indicator<sup>(1)</sup> is used by the present writer for this study; (b) Most of these indicators are inserted between the two appositives whether the initial appositive is explicit as in (1), (3), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12) and (13) or implicit as in (2), (4), (5), (6) and (7) and others may precede both appositives as in (14). In (14) the structure of appositives implies the occurrence of the same particle before the second appositive, as is suggested by the one before the first. Thus, in examples like (14), the implied particle can be realised, i.e. yā waladu yā sayyid as is the situation in colloquial speech e.g. ya wad ya sayyid.

Furthermore, the present analysis takes rather a similar view to certain TG approaches to syntax, which would perhaps derive the phrase following such particles as *bal* or *gayr* or *ʔillā* from a complete sentence, i.e.

"...ʔillā ʔanna wāḥidan minhum ḥaḍar"

"...except that one of them came"

The discussion of this approach, however, lies beyond the scope of this thesis. We touch upon it only in order to illustrate possible syntactic criteria for our assumption. That is that a transformational operation has been done in order to derive the phrase involved from a sentence. So with these particles the following phrase is developed from a transformation which has deleted the elements in surface structure. This may be diagrammed as follows:

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(1) Footnote: we use 'indicator' in the sense explained in Quirk, op.cit., p.277.



Figure (1)

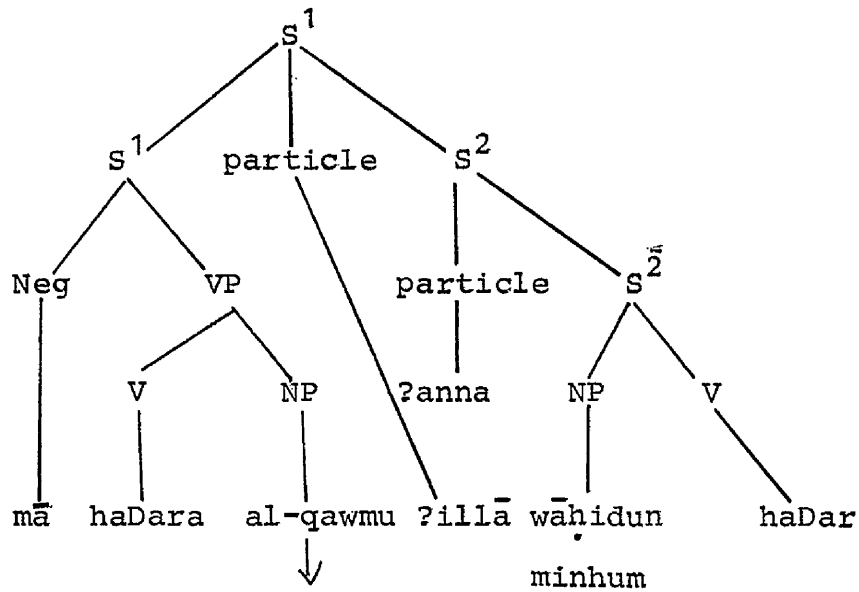
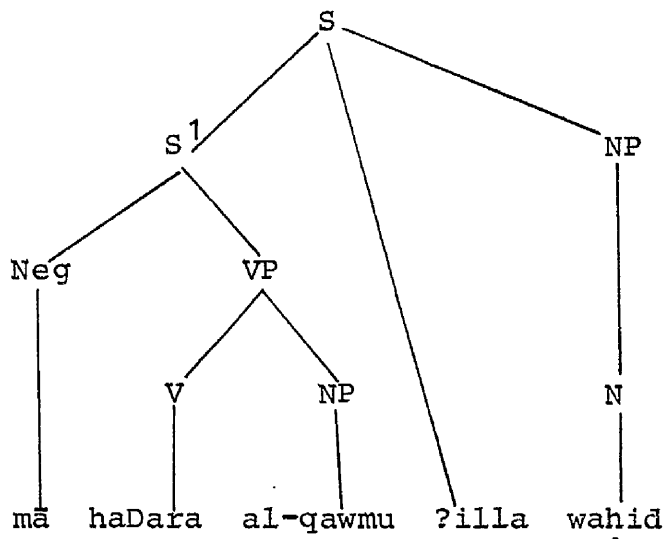


Figure (2)



Here however we follow the traditional Arabic treatment which sees these noun phrases as essentially modifiers of the preceding Noun phrase.

However, the point should be noted in this connection that in order for the particle ʔilla to mark an appositional

structure, the particle mā and the like must introduce the major sentence. In more accurate terms, the emphatic negative particle mā (as well as lā or lam or lan) is presented with the associative affirmative particle ?illā or gayr following in the same constituent to signal that there is apposition involved in a given structure. The syntactic implication of this systematized contradiction is that the former particle excludes a certain object from the whole activity; explicitly as in (1) and (3) or implicitly as in (2-7) above, while the latter two confirm the participation of the object involved in the action.

Similarly, the appositional structure may be indicated also by two particles which have contradictory force and function in the same way; these are of the set mā, lā, lam, lan and bal. Under this indication we shall consider the actual ellipsis of mā, lā, lam, lan which have been omitted as in lā tusāʿid al-ganiyya bal al-faqīr 'do not help the rich man, but rather the poor' and sāʿid al-ganiyya bal al-faqīr 'do not help the rich man, but rather the poor'. The following figures may represent this system:

Figure 1

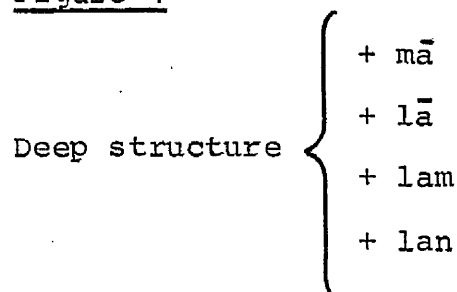
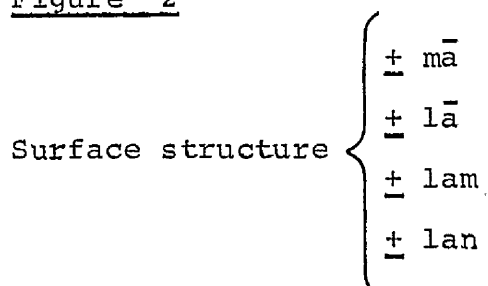


Figure 2

In this way, the type of structure in which they may be involved permits a two-fold configuration: the first is realized with the occurrence of the marks as in (mā... and bal...) in a given sequence, the second is represented by (-mā... +bal...) in surface structure.

There is further another type of structure known as the "badalu al-galaT" 'apposition of mistake' which may be identical to this in structure in surface form, in which the particle bal may introduce a word which corrects a mistake in performance in the structure which preceded i.e., gara?tu al-kitāba... bali al-Saḥīfah<sup>(1)</sup> which could be translated 'I read the book... No, the newspaper'. Here the intonation differs from the example (10) above in that the particle bal is given strong stress and marked intonation and may follow a pause. This is attested by the fact that

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(1) Footnote: In such structures, the particle /bal/ is called connective particle by the Arab grammarians. We do not adopt this view since /bal/ in these constructions is not a coordinator, but rather an indicator. This nomenclature is based on the fact that the particle bal here does not fulfil the conjoined function as the given examples may suggest; it is in fact functioning as an indicator of apposition. This is attested by the fact that bal is an indicative marker of appositional relation since the element head is being substituted, but not coordinated, by means of a virtual indicator. Thus, the element M following bal is in lieu of the head and not in coordination with it.

the particle /lā/ 'no', may figure in the surface syntax of the nominal phrase e.g. sāfir fī al-qiTāri, lā bal al-sayyārah 'travel in the train, No, the car'. Such implication of intonation is normally produced in two ways:

- a) The speaker may use the particle /bal/ in a given sequence, with a rising intonation in speech (or perhaps a comma in writing), to indicate that the head noun is uttered merely by mistake, and a substituted word (i.e. a modifier) immediately follows in rectification. Moreover, intonation as well as comma serves to distinguish different types of utterance. For instance the employment of a different intonation in (1) and (2) serve to distinguish the different types.

|| — — — — — ||      plain appositive with omission of negative particle

- (1) /ʔāwin ʔaxāka bal ʔuxtak/      plain appositive  
'do not help your brother, but rather your sister'

|| — — — — — ||      appositive of mistake

- (2) /raʔaytu himāran bal farasā/ rectification  
'I saw a donkey, No, a horse'

- b) The other option open to the user, when he wants to emphasise the means of correction, is to realize the particle lā precisely before bal with a high intonation e.g. ḥafiḍtu kitāban lā bal qaṣīdah 'I kept by heart a book, No, a poem'.

With both of these features marked intonation, the types of apposition are distinguishable, in a manner that has already been treated syntactically as a type of mistake. However, it is worth mentioning at this point that the above illustrations so far have been dealt with in a way, far more realistic than those imposed by the traditionalists.<sup>(1)</sup> That is to say, for instance, the term apposition of mistake is chosen as a syntactic term from the terms of traditional grammar, *badalu al-ʔiDrāb* the permutative of retractation and *badalu al-galaT wa al-nisyān* the permutative of error and forgetfulness, which are in fact semantic terms. The traditional treatment, on the other hand, has neglected intonation, which has been used here. Apparently, the apposition of mistake alone would be a sufficiently distinct term, since it is used here for structural and phonological reasons. Thus, it seems worthwhile to retain the term distinctive mistake, to prevent confusions arising from such terms and to emphasize the structural relation of nominal phrases of this sort whether the particle *bal* presents or not.

### iii) Multiple appositive

In terms of constructions, appositional NP may be seen in more than two units. Stylistically, they may appear with or without conjunctive(s) giving various types, by which the multiple apposition is represented. Their appositive modifiers can be rearranged in such a way that

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(1) See for instance: Ḥasan, A., op.cit., Abd al-Hamīd, op.cit., Kenawi, M., op.cit., Wright, W., op.cit.

the sequence of the elements concerned can be reordered without producing unacceptable appositions or at least changing the relationships of the appositives. The case is so because the constituents involved in both types are syntagmatically assigned in a consecutive aspect within a linear framework and are functionally appointed in apposition, indicated by a structural configuration.

To illustrate this point of identification, the following four examples are given:

- 1a) /lahu silāhāni ?anyābun wa ?aḍfār/  
'it has two weapons: fangs and claws'
- 1b) /lahu silāhāni ?aḍfarun wa ?anyāb/  
'it has two weapons: claws and fangs'
- 2a) /zāra al-wālī al-magriba al-ʿarabiyya: tūnisa,  
al-jazāʾira, al-magrib/  
'the ruler visited the arab west: Tunis, Algeria  
and Maghrib'

or

- 2b) /Zāra al-wālī al-magriba al-ʿarabiyya: al-mugriba,  
al-jazāʾira, tūnis/  
'the ruler visited the Arab west: Maghrib, Algeria  
and Tunis'

As mentioned above, the elements which occur in appositive (modifier) position are interchangeable without changing the meaning, the technical term, or the appositive functions (i.e. AP<sup>1</sup> and AP<sup>2</sup>), whether they are associated with a conjunctive or not, the only change - if there is

one at a very delicate level - is that the reordered element has its function according to its new position.

At first sight, the two ways of representation given above seem to be indistinguishable from those of coordination. Since both coordination and apposition here involve the linking of units, and show syndetic and asyndetic<sup>(1)</sup> structures; the latter being when conjunctives are absent but could be present. But a closer look at both types shows that apposition is kept distinct from coordination in that: (a) The elements of AP<sup>2</sup> are linked in apposition to an appositive head. Thus, the function of the conjunctives lies in bringing together dependent elements that are understood as a necessary compound in a complete NP of a complex apposition, but not linking independent elements as is the situation with coordination. (b) The structural analysis of apposition exhibits that the appositives are represented by nouns, functioning as follows: appositive head and appositive modifiers. The syntactic effect of this multiple appositive is that it increases by one or more the number of the modifying entities in the structure. So the appositive head normally appears in association with one modifying appositive, when aggregated, it requires one or more elements to share in the apposition.

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(1) Note that occasionally the omission of a coordinator may occur in a specific context that is known to the hearer and speaker.

Compare the following examples where (a) represents coordination within an apposition and (b) represents a pure coordination:

1a) /qaSama Dahri rajulāni: rajulun mutanassikun wa  
Σālimun mutahattik/

'two types of man broke my back: an ascetic man  
and dishonorable scholar'

1b) /wa ?innamā kāna yattaxidu al-jiyāda wa al-bigāla  
wa al-hamir/

'and surely he was accustomed to ride the horses,  
mules and donkeys'

1a) /qulnā ?inna al-qurʿāna ?attara fī al-lugati min  
Tariqayni: Tariqin mubāsirin wa ?āxara gayri mubāsir/

'we said that the Holy Qurʿān has affected the Arabic  
language in two ways: direct and indirect'

1b) /yanzilūna wa yarhalūna fī ?ubbahatin wa Daxāmah/

'they stay and depart in a splendour and largeness'

2a) /wa uΣtubira dālika fī al-kalimāti: dawlatin, wazīrin,  
jarīdatin, majallatin,.../

'and that has been considered in the words: a state,  
minister, newspaper and magazine'

2b) /min dālika al-kūzu, al-jarratu, al-?ibrīqu, al-Tastu.../

'the mug, jar, jug and washbasin are from that'

2a) /lāmanī ?aqāribī al-Σammu, al-Σammatu, al-xālu.../

'my relatives blamed me: the paternal uncle, paternal  
aunt, maternal uncle...'

2b) /zurtu min ?aqāribī al-Σamma, al-Σammata, al-xāl/

'I visited the paternal uncle, paternal aunt and  
maternal uncle from my relatives'

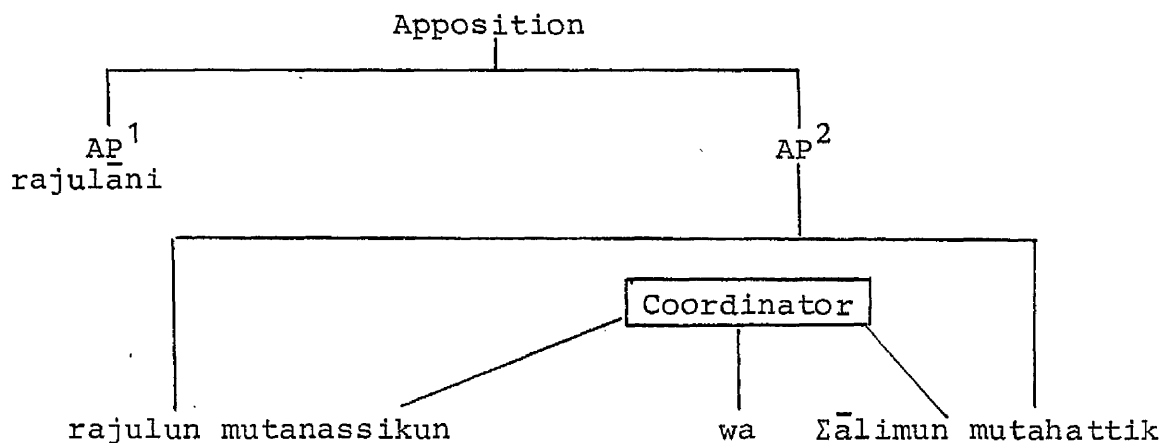


'I visited from my relatives: the paternal uncle,  
paternal aunt and maternal uncle'

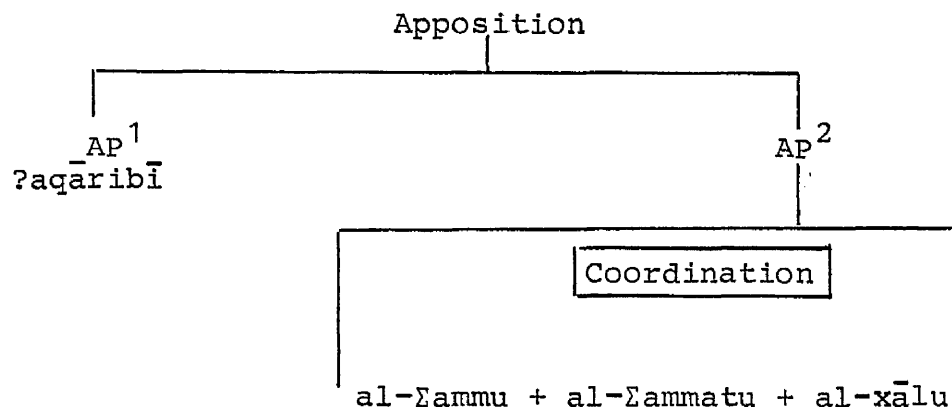
The above pairs of examples show that:

1) In common they involve noun phrases which are marked by the coordinator wa as in (1) representing a hypotactic structure, and by commas as in (2) representing a paratactic structure. In (a) the coordinated element is not deletable, whereas in (b) it is deletable without any syntactic effect. However, in (a) and (b) the coordinated elements are noun phrases where in (a) the relationship is one of apposition and in (b) of coordination. Note that wa is a coordinator in these structures and therefore one might expect that it could be deleted under specific conditions.

In sentences like (1a) the wa cannot in fact be deleted or changed to /?aw/ and therefore its presence acts as a partial marker of the appositional function in the total macro phrase (the Apposition), even though it is still a coordinator within the micro phrase, i.e. AP<sup>2</sup>. This is represented diagrammatically as follows:



Furthermore, in sentences such as 2(a) the coordinator /wa/ can be deleted when the second appositive (dawlatin, wazīrin, jarīdatin, majallatin is listed to modify the first appositive (al-kalimāti), in enumeration, and when the group (?aqāribī) and its individual members (al-Σammu, al-Σammatu, al-xālu) are familiar to both speaker and hearer. Nevertheless the structure (in both cases) is still one of an Apposition including a coordinator within AP<sup>2</sup>, i.e.



This however cannot be done with a sentence like  
 /wāDihun ?anna al-malakata al-lugawīyyata mina al-nāḥiyatayni:  
 al-?iṣrābiyyati wa al-balāgiyyati xaDaṣatun lil-Sināṣati.../  
 'it is clear that the linguistic property is subjected in  
 two ways to the art: inflection and style'

It is worth mentioning however that it is not easy to delineate exactly at point familiarity or expectedness is sufficient to allow the coordinator to be deleted. Nevertheless the above examples do represent a fairly clear type.

2) Although the multiple appositive resembles the coordinate counterpart in (b), in being marked by *wa* 'and', or commas,<sup>(1)</sup> and in showing usually non-restrictive relationship, the key feature of type (a) is that three elements at least are required to fulfil this structure; whereas two elements are sufficient in the coordinate structure. In this manner, the appositive modifiers are combined together to carry the information value to the appositive head; in contrast to the coordinate structure where each element individually is carrying a piece of information in a given phrasal coordination. Therefore, as we mentioned above, if we delete one of the constituents apposed the result would be unacceptable structure, whereas this is not so with the coordinate.

What is to be noted as a decisive criterion in this connection is that, as we said before, unlike coordinate conjunction, in the appositive, the wa cannot be replaced by ?aw.<sup>(2)</sup> Thus the admittance of a coordinator which is semantically an indicator of the place of the appositive modifiers is a feature of appositional structure, of this type.

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- (1) In CA, the apposition may be indicated in speech by separate tone or pause for the APM and in writing by commas which for no reason may be neglected. graphically by the users, two dots or dashes or brackets in which case the apposition marked as parenthetic.
- (2) Usually ?aw functions semantically as exclusive, expressing the idea that only one of the elements involved can be realized, i.e. it excludes the combination of elements, which is the proviso of the apposition given above.

3) Finally, in the last 2(b) above (page 460), there are two interpretations involved: (1) the structure of the linking units: al- $\Sigma$ amma, al- $\Sigma$ ammata and al-xāl is a modifier of ?aqāribī (of this special sort called appositive); therefore ?aqāribī has the same referent as al- $\Sigma$ amma, al- $\Sigma$ ammata, al-xāl. (2) ?aqāribi represents a prepositional phrase denoting a group, while al- $\Sigma$ amma, al- $\Sigma$ ammata, al-xāl are the direct object representing only part of the whole group, and therefore ?aqāribī has reference to a larger group than al- $\Sigma$ amma, al- $\Sigma$ ammata, al-xāl. Again the intonation keeps them distinct. Consider:

- 1) zurtu min ?aqāribī//al- $\Sigma$ amma, al- $\Sigma$ ammata, al-xāl
- 2) //zurtu min ?aqāribī al- $\Sigma$ amma, al- $\Sigma$ ammata, al-xāl//

The aim of this explanation is to show that the setting up of a structure of multiple apposition is based on semantic considerations.

After showing multiple appositive, we proceed to discuss the appositive clauses.

#### (iv) Appositive clauses

We saw in the previous chapter where relative clauses figure and how they function in the nominal phrases. Appositive clauses are similar to relative clauses in that they are capable of being clausal modifiers in which they occur in what we called 'post-posed position' and in showing restrictive and non-restrictive functions, all of which are aspects of both types.

Appositive clauses, further, have an appositional relation with the appositive head of the same NP similar to that between two noun phrases in apposition. However, this kind of structuring is realized when the appositive head and appositive clause are equivalent, then it is invariably of apposition. To this there is outstanding feature: the equivalence behaviour of constituents yields appositives, though the appositive modifier is represented by a clause (be it nominal or verbal). When this is the case, the components involved have a class-meaning shared by all members of the NP, or as Hockett puts it,

"In some instances we are able to determine that all the members of the domain of some substitute have a feature of meaning in common. When this is the case, then we say that the substitute has, as one feature of its own meaning, this class-meaning shared by all the members of its domain. More often, no such common feature can be discerned." (1)

Moreover, the appositive clause, however, carries the retrievable information which is regarded as recoverable from the appositive head, by virtue of the association of overlapping exponents. In other words, this type of structure (i.e. appositive head and appositive clause) is divided into information units in accordance with the structural distribution of the components of the NP. Through this distribution, the appositive clause will carry the information focus with which it is marked phonologically. This is identified by the fact that in spoken language has a separate tone.

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(1) Hockett, C.F., A Course in Modern Linguistics, 1958, p.256.

Consider the following illustrations of this:

(i) Simple appositive clause

- a) /wa lahu kitābun huwa al-ʔimāmu fī al-nahu/  
'and he has written a book which is the best one in grammar'
- b) /maʕa ʔannahum yaqūlūna ʔinna al-siʕra-wa huwa dīwānu al-ʕarabi-qad dāʕa ʔaktaruh/  
'although they say that most of the body of poems have been lost, that is to say the Arabic collection'
- a) /qāla al-rasūlu (Salla allāhu ʕalayhi wa sallam)  
'the Messenger (may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him)'
- b) /ʔalasnā naʕlamu ʔannahu sayūladu yatiman yamūtu ʕanhu ʔabūhu wa huwa janīn/  
'do not we know that he will be born an orphan whose father will die when he is unborn'

(ii) Coordinate appositive clauses

- a) /wa ʔamaddahā bihi ʔamrāni: ʔaḥaduhumā, taḥaDDuru al-ʕarabi, wa tānīhimā, taʕarrubu al-ʕajam'  
'and it was supported by two things: one the civilization of the Arabs and two the Arabization of the non-Arabs'
- b) /wa faraDa al-Sabiyyu ʕalā nafsīhi layuSalliyanna al-xamsa fī kulli yawmin marratayni: marratan linafsīhi wa marratan liʔaxīh/  
'and the boy decided to say everyday the five prayers twice: once for himself and once for his brother'

- a) /wa ḥaraṣa ʔalā ʔan yataqarraba ʔilayhi bikulli  
ʔalwāni al-taqarrubi: bial-Sadaqati ḥīnan, wa  
bial-Salati ḥīnan, wa bitilāwati al-qurʔāni murratan  
tālīṭah/

'and he took good care to approach him (God) in various ways: sometimes by giving a charity, sometimes in fulfilling the prayers and sometimes by reciting the Holy Quran'

- b) /wa kānat al-munāfasatu ḥāddatan bayna ʔusratayni  
min ʔaṣḥābi al-Tarīqi, liʔiḥdāhumṣ ʔaʕlāhu, wa  
lil-ʔuxrā ʔasfaluh/

'and there was fierce competition between two of the families who controlled the road to one of whom belonged the upper part and to the other the lower'

Whatever the differences in grammatical meaning, all the underlined structures in (1) and (2) are appositions and have one feature in common: they contain appositive clauses with the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive, as in (a) and (b) respectively.

Taking the analysis a bit further, we note that:

- (1) The basic difference between appositive structures in (a) and (b) throughout (1) and (2) is relatable to the function of the "appositive clause". That is to say, appositive clauses can be restrictive or non-restrictive. Insofar as the head is viewed as a member of a class which is linguistically identified through the appositive clause(s) that have been supplied, it is restrictive. Otherwise the head is viewed as a member of a class that

has been independently identified; any appositive clause given to such a head is additional information which is not essential for identifying the head. This is called non-restrictive, as was established before.

(2) It is noticed that with restrictive appositive clauses the head noun is non-specific as in (a), and with non-restrictive representation it is specific as in (b).

(3) In restrictive representation, the appositive clause is given more prosodic stress than the head; while in non-restrictive, it is unstressed and its parenthetical relation may be represented by a separate intonation feature, or - in writing - by two dashes.

(4) In 2(a and b) when the two coordinated appositive clauses follow a head noun and modify it distributively, the head noun is in the dual form.

(5) It is noticeable that the appositive clause is usually nominal. This may be related to the fact that the appositive modifier in general is a replacement.

Lehman describes this process of replacement as follows:

"Substitution is a third syntactic device. Through it replacements, or substitutes, often called pro-forms, stand for the central entities of the basic patterns." (1)

For this the appositive clauses are often seen in nominals to realise a categorical similarity with the head.

Following up the points of similarity and dissimilarity illustrated by structures involving appositive clauses, the

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(1) Lehman, W.P., Descriptive Linguistics, An Introduction  
2nd edition, 1976, p.157.



fact should not be overlooked that the "appositive clause" can be further discussed in contrast with the "relative clause". Nevertheless we have, in the course of our discussion above, touched upon some corresponding features of these two types of clause. Here the description proceeds with the treatment of both types in a close examination to determine whether they show contrastive features.

Examine the following two sets of sentences (1) and (2):

- 1a) /wa lam tanqati al-Silatu bayna al-ʔadabi al-ʔarabiyyi-ʔaw al-ʔadabi al-ʔislāmiyyi ʔala al-jumlati - wa bayna al-ʔādābi al-ʔurubbiyyati al-ḥadīṭati.../ Appositive

'The relationship between Arabic literature, or the Islamic on the whole, and modern European literatures did not cease'

- 1b) /yaqūlu allāhu - ʔazza wa jalla.../ 'God, the glorious and sublime says...'

- 2a) /wa kāna ʔabdu al-ḥamīdi al-kātibu istaxraja ʔamtilata al-kitābati - allati rasamahā - mina al-lisāni al-fārisiyyi.../

'and it was ʔAbd el-ḥamid, the writer who extracted the art of writing - which he puts down - from the Persian language'

- 2b) /kānat makkatu wa al-madīnatu markazayni min ʔahammi al-marākizi al-ʔilmiyyti, yaqsiduhumā Tullābu al-ḥadīṭi .../

'Mecca and Al-madina were the two most important of the centres of learning which students of prophetic tradition came to'

In set (1) the underlined clause unit can be said to have performed the function of an "appositive modifier" in contrast with the subordinate type performed by the corresponding clause unit in set (2). What is to be stressed here is that the difference between (1) and (2) is clearly one of structure. Closely related to this feature and of clear significance to our present assumption are the facts given below:

(i) Relative clauses, like quantifiers in modification, are more dependent than appositives, and cannot stand without a head noun irrespective of their gender and number. In other words, the relative clause is a subordinate clause which is introduced by a relative pronoun as in 2(a) if definite and is dependent on the head for its full meaning. These are strictly contrastive with their counterparts (i.e. in 1a and b).

(ii) Following a close investigation in CA, we note that the clauses which make up the structure of appositive are often nominal, whereas those which represent subordinate (relatives) are predominantly verbal. This phenomenon may be related to the fact that each of these clause types has a different functional pattern<sup>(1)</sup> associated with it. This

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(1) This term is borrowed from Berry, M., Introduction to Systemic Linguistics, vol.I, p.79.

distinction is between a clause whose function is descriptive and one whose function is to relate an act or event. The distinction referred to here is touched upon in the following quotation,

"The difference between verbal and nominal sentences to which the native grammarians attach no small importance, is properly this, that the former relates an act or event, the latter gives a description of a person or thing, either absolutely, or in the form of a clause descriptive of state." (1)

Thus, the clause which typically occurs in type (1) should be nominal; and the clause which type (2) involves is verbal marked as a relative by alladī if definite.

(iii) Although both types are related to the general function of expressing modification. The difference between (1) and (2) lies in the fact that in (1) the clause has as a structural and meaningful unit a specific role, i.e. it is apposed to the head. This means that the structure and the meaning coincide as regards appositive, whereas in (2) it is not represented as an appositive, but subordinated whether the relative pronoun appears in the surface structure or not, (hence appositive v. subordinate clause).

(iv) These two clause types show two structural relations with the head noun:

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(1) Wright, op.cit., vol.II, pp.251-52.  
Wright is talking here about the main clause.  
However, this statement is generally applicable to the subordinate clause as well.

- a) paratactic<sup>(1)</sup> where the relationship is apposition, which is expressed by equal units,
- b) hypotactic<sup>(1)</sup> where the relationship is subordination, which is expressed by unequal units.

Further examples on appositives as modifiers:

- a) /wa mā nursilu al-mursalīna ?illā mubassirīna wa mundirīna.../  
'and we send (our) message-bearers only as heralds of glad tidings and as warners'<sup>(2)</sup>
- b) /tamma ruddū ?ilā allāhi mawlāhum al-ḥaqqi.../  
'and they (who have died) are thereupon brought before God, their true Lord Supreme'<sup>(3)</sup>
- c) /wa mā yakūnu lanā ?an naʿūda fīhā ?ilā ?an yaṣāʾa allāhu rabbunā.../  
'it is not conceivable that we should return to them - unless God, our Sustainer, so wills'<sup>(4)</sup>
- d) /...?an iʿbudū allāha rabbī wa rabbakum.../  
'worship God, (who is) my sustainer as well as your sustainer'<sup>(5)</sup>
- e) /qālū ?āmanna birabbi al-ʿālamīna rabbi musā wa hārūn/  
'(and) exclaiming: "We have come to believe in the sustainer of all the worlds, the sustainer of Moses and Aaron"'<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) Halliday, Cohesion..., op.cit., p.222, and Berry, M., op.cit., pp.96-103.  
 (2) Asad, op.cit., p.178, verse 48.  
 (3) Asad, op.cit., p.181, verse 62.  
 (4) Asad, op.cit., p.217, verse 89.  
 (5) Asad, op.cit., p.169, verse 117.  
 (6) Asad, op.cit., p.220, verses 121-22.

- f) /ʔinna hāda lafī al-Suhufi al-ʔulā, Suhufi  
ʔibrāhīma wa mūsā/  
'verily, (all) this has indeed been (said) in the  
earlier revelations - the revelations of Abraham  
and Moses', (1)
- g) /ʔatadʔūna baʔlan wa tadarūna ʔahsana al-xāliqīna.  
allāha rabbakum wa rabba ʔābāʔikum al-ʔawwalīn/  
'will you invoke Baal and forsake (God) the best of  
artisans - God, your sustainer and the sustainer of  
your forebears of old', (2)

So far we have been dealing with the appositional structure. Next the genitive construction which is seen through form and meaning is dealt with in its various forms.

### The genitive construct

In this section, the description is limited to what we have labelled here "The genitive construct". This type of phrase is formally marked off by an element almost invariably without the article<sup>(3)</sup> followed by a second element in the genitive. The former is syntactically the governing word and the latter is the governed word

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- (1) Asad, op.cit., p.947, verses 18-19.  
(2) Asad, op.cit., p.689, verses 125-26.  
(3) Occasionally, a construct in which the first element is a participle or adjective and the second its (subject) or object in the genitive. In these structures the first element may be preceded by al- if the whole phrase is a modifier to a preceding noun e.g. al-waladu al-kabīru al-raʔsi 'the boy with big head', al-gurfatu al-maftuḥatu al-nawafidi, 'the room whose windows are opened', and al-Ṭalibu al-fāqidu al-ʔamali, 'the student who is feeling hopeless'.

which determines its head on a qualitative basis. As Cantarino sees it,

"European grammarians call the regent - the governing noun - status constructus (construct state), and the following noun in the genitive case - the governed noun - the genitive." (1)

However, a genitive construct is a structure where two elements coincide as a compound noun. They represent the basic construction of genitive and express structurally a relationship between two terms, i.e. head and modifier. In this respect of structural considerations, the genitive relationship of the modifier is one of clarification of what is expressed by the head. To quote also Beeston on this point,

"The link between a noun and an entity term which amplifies it is termed by the Arab grammarians 'idāfa 'annexion', and the noun thus amplified is said to be muḍāf 'annexed.' In default of any common European technicality connoting 'a noun amplified by an entity term', I have felt obliged to retain the Arabic terminology, though it must be strongly emphasized that the 'annexed' term is the amplified one and not, as a European reader might prima facie suppose, the amplifying one." (2)

However, these syntactic configurations can be seen obviously in one of four types of phrases in linear sequences.

The following examples are typical genitive constructions whose structure is syntagmatically assigned, hence the structural function head and modifier:

- 
- (1) Cantarino, op.cit., vol.II, (modification of nouns) p.90.  
(2) Beeston, op.cit., pp.45-46.

- (a) /raʔsu al-ḥarbati/  
'the head of the spear'
- (b) /Ṭāhiru al-qalbi/  
'pure of heart'
- (c) /sāmiʔu al-xabari/  
'the listener of the news'

For purposes of description and easy recognition of genitive constructions that belong to the types designated above as having distinctive features, we give in general the following characteristics:

(1) Grammatical analysis

- a) Frequently, word without article > word with + article
- b) Functional pattern<sup>(1)</sup>, an appropriate term, annexed, determinant + an entity,<sup>(2)</sup> genitive element, determinative word.
- c) Case: the annexed word has a case ending corresponding to its syntactic function in a given structure, this being determinable by the syntactic analysis.

However, it is convenient here to refer cursorily to the fact that an element which takes a tanwīn termination will lose the -n of the tanwīn and the ending morpheme -n if dual or sound plural; when it is annexed. Whereas the following element which modifies the annexed element is always in the

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(1) This term is used in the sense as that explained by Berry, op.cit., vol.I, p.79.  
 (2) This term "an entity term" is adopted from Beeston, he uses it to refer to the genitive word, op.cit., p.45.

genitive case (be it explicit as the above examples illustrate or implicit as in *Salātu al-Duḥā* 'the prayer of forenoon') and *wālidu suḏā* 'the father of Su'dā (Su'da's father)'.

- d) Main element + subordinate element, i.e. an independent (free) element is followed by a dependent (bound) element<sup>(1)</sup> with which it is syntactically linked, the mark of dependent status is in that case genitive.

(2) Syntagmatic realizations

- a) N > N, the most frequent pattern
- b) Adj > N
- c) N > Adj
- d) partic. > N
- e) N > partic.<sup>(2)</sup>

(3) Structural configurations

head + modifier

(4) Types of phrases

- a) 
$$N + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ \text{adj} \\ \text{partic.} \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \text{Nominal phrase}$$

(1) See Berry, *op.cit.*, p.70.

(2) Nouns preceded by an adverb or preposition in Arabic also have the same surface characteristics as a genitive construct. So that a phrase like *Ḥinda al-bābi* is on the surface similar to *bābu al-bayti*. However these are not dealt with here since they are not considered genitive constructs from the semantic point of view. In *bābu al-bayt* the structure is head + modifier, whereas in *Ḥinda al-bābi* we do not have a modification structure of the same type (see Chapter II).



- b) Adj + N → Adjectival phrase
- c) Partic. + N → participle phrase

(5) Semantic implications

Various types of semantic implication can be seen through the relationship between the juxtaposed elements of genitive structure, all of which are contextually assigned (see below).

So far, the aim of such a representation is to set off the areas where the genitive structure occurs and the relationships which are relevant to this type of structure.

However, two points invite more explanation in the above illustrations:

(1) The preceding analysis of head + modifier is given generally to genitive structures in terms of relation, according to syntactic and semantic considerations. This is borne out by the fact that the first element (the annexed word) and the second element (the genitive word) are juxtaposed for syntactic and semantic factors, being termed head and modifier in a stereotyped structure. To make this clear, let me cite Beeston's suggestion which may be related to this explanation,

"In order to comprehend the Arab annexion structure, it is best to regard it as parallel to the English form in which two nouns are juxtaposed, as in 'steam train', 'village doctor', 'orange peel'; the only difference lies in the relative placing of the two terms, for in Arabic the one which actually defines the entity

meant (train, doctor, peel) comes first. The semantic implications of the structure are as open ended in Arabic as in English ('steam train' is one powered by steam, 'village doctor', one who works in a village, 'orange peel' the peel which surrounds an orange); but it also subsumes English 'genitive' structures such as 'a village's doctor', 'the peel of an orange'." (1)

(ii) The second point to be made is that the genitive case is a feature of the Arabic genitive structure, indeed, it is a language which has no other morphemic means for marking this type of structure. Although it is accompanied by an interesting structural signalling feature, as has already been illustrated (pp.475-476) this shows an important role assigned to case-endings in Arabic syntax. That is to say, the role of case endings is to mark syntactic relations in Arabic.

However, in this connection, the linguist Ibrahim Anis assumed, in contrast to the majority of grammarians, that case-endings in Arabic are no more than "Anaptyctic vowels". (2) He goes so far as to accuse the traditional grammarians of misdescribing the data, which they have dealt with, hence their invention of the present ad hoc and superfluous case system. (3)

In an attempt to account for the superfluity of case endings, Beeston points to the view given by Anis when he

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(1) Beeston, op.cit., p.46.

(2) See Anis, I., min ʔasrari al-lugah, The Anglo-Egyptian bookshop, Cairo, 1966, p.225. Anis uses the "Anaptyctic vowels" in a footnote.

(3) Ibid., pp.233-34.

states that case endings are superfluous. His view is put forward in the following quotation:

"The partial or entire elimination of 'i'rāb does not in fact entail significant loss of comprehensibility, since the markers are to a large extent redundant. In an obvious example, since a preposition is always immediately followed by the entity term with which it is syntactically linked, the overt mark of dependent status is in that case superfluous. Even when the substantive with dependent status follows an annexed noun, it would be difficult to find any sentence where elimination of the mark of dependent status would lead to ambiguity; for to treat the two terms as not linked by annexion will ordinarily lead to the sentence containing one more entity than can be fitted into any possible structure of it."(1)

It is not strictly true to claim, as Anis and Beeston set out to do, that Arabic case endings are no more than anaptyctic, or Sand hi phenomena,<sup>(2)</sup> or to a great extent redundant.<sup>(3)</sup> Since case endings have something to do with marking the syntactic implications of a structure. Irrespective of any attendant phonological functions, they still serve as partial markers of the syntactic function of particular nominal elements, or rather they play roles in assigning the syntactic relationships between the elements involved; especially when the order is reversible.

What is of great interest to be mentioned here is that, in examining the value of case endings, we see that

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(1) Beeston, op.cit., p.54.

(2) Anis, op.cit., p.233 below.

(3) Beeston, op.cit., p.54.

genitive structures in CA require case endings for syntactic and semantic reasons where aspect and tense are involved, since otherwise ambiguities may arise. For instance, the examples below would be ambiguous without the so-called case endings; i.e. they tolerate more than one interpretation. Thus, without case endings, two aspectual and tense interpretations are tolerable for (a) and (b).

- a) /Σātabtu al-Tāliba al-nāqil al-xabar/
- (1) 'I blamed the student who was the reporter of the news'
- (2) 'I blamed the student who has reported the news'
- b) /Σaliyyun kātib al-risālah/
- (1) 'Ali has written the message'
- (2) 'Ali {will write } the message'  
           {is writing }

However, to disambiguate the above constructions, one has to put case endings on the two elements involved (i.e. underlined) which are juxtaposed, by which he will be putting grammatical signs for semantic aspectual and tense distinctions with the so-called participial phrase; and the phrase type with which 'a genitival' or participial structure might be associable. To this end, significantly, the case endings participate in aspect and tense marking (see below), i.e. the need for case modification here is particularly important in considering the aspect and tense implications.

So far, aspect and tense have been introduced, as marked by case endings, without elucidating the difference between the two terms. To differentiate briefly aspect is essentially a semantic term with reference to internal time; whereas tense is a grammatical category with reference to external time. Comrie says,

"Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense)."(1)

Whether the difference between aspect and tense is related to internal and external times respectively, the distinction of both terms in Arabic is one of form<sup>(2)</sup> and case ending.<sup>(3)</sup>

So, markedly, the structures below will be interpreted as perfective with relative past time reference or imperfective with present and future references, according to the state of case endings. This is because the selection of one interpretation rather than another is determined not by syntactic function as much as by its interrelation that is marked by case endings. In other words, grammatical meanings, generally speaking, are determined by their interrelations in the systems set up for that language."<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Comrie, op.cit., p.5.

(2) For an interesting and a more detailed account on this point see Comrie, B., Aspect, pp.78-81.

(3) For more information about this point see Mitchell, op.cit., pp.230-33.

(4) Firth, J.R., Asynapsis of Linguistic Theory, in Studies in Linguistic Analysis, Oxford University Press, 1957.

Again, the presence of case endings will decide for one than another where the relationship holding between the two elements in a participial (genitival) phrase is one of modification, while that of participial clause is one of sentential function.

To illustrate this point, so far, reconsider the previous examples where each interpretation is marked by case endings:

- 1a) /Σātabtu al-Tāliba al-nāqila al-xabari/  
 'I blamed the student who was the reporter of the news'
- 1b) /Σātabtu al-Tāliba al-nāqila al-xabara/  
 'I blamed the student who had reported the news'
- 2a) /Σaliyyun kātibu al-risālati/  
 'Ali has written the message' (i.e. 'Ali is the writer of the message')
- 2b) /Σaliyyun kātibun al-risālata/  
 'Ali {will write, is writing} the message'

Examining the above examples, we notice that the difference between (a) and (b) is one of aspectual function and tense reference of the participle to which a noun is associated, since the participle here, on its own, is free of any suggestions of aspect or tense. On the basis of this combination, though the participles involved above are verbal in function, the following element appears in the genitive, as in (a) and in the accusative, as in (b). This is due to the fact that the

difference between both usages is attributable to aspectual distinctions and tense references.

Thus the use of the particular case endings in (1) indicates perfective with absolute past time, as in (a), or relative past time, as in (b), both are represented by the participial structure with an element (with the modifying article al-) in appropriate case (i.e. al-nāqilaa) and an element in genitive (i.e. al-xabarii), as in (a), or an element in accusative (i.e. al-xabaraa), as in (b), and that in (2) it refers to the perfective with relative past time where the participle (without article) again in the appropriate case and the following noun in genitive, as in (a), and imperfective with present and future time where the first element as usual is in appropriate case and the second element in accusative.

It is worth noting that in the genitive structure, we have a sub-modification structure, in which the first element is a head and the second a modifier. This contrasts with similar genitive structures where neither aspect and tense nor sub-modification are applied in which the participle serves as type of occupational noun. This may be exemplified in columns (1) and (2) below:

1 - Sub-modification	2 - Occupational nouns
X kātibu al-risālati	X kātibu al-risālati
'X has written the	'X is the writer of the
message'	message'

1 - Sub-modification	2 - Occupational nouns
X kātibu al-rasāʔili	X kātibu al-rasāʔili
'X has written the messages'	'X is the writer of the messages'
X muʔaddīnu al-Salāti	X muʔaddīnu al-Salāti
'X has announced the prayer'	'X is the announcer of the prayer'
X mudarribu al-katāʔibi	X mudarribu al-katāʔibi
'X has trained the military units	'X is the trainer of military units'

Furthermore, as mentioned above without case endings the genitive structure can be misinterpreted; especially when the elements involved are separated. Since juxtaposition may be considered as a characteristic sign of the genitive structure, i.e. the constituent elements of the genitive structure are singled out usually by the language user because they are positionally juxtaposed. To illustrate this consider the following Arabic sentence which is given without case endings:

/Fadāsahum daws al-ḥaṣīd al-dāʔis/

'This is capable of the misinterpretation, i.e.

'and he trampled them as the harvest tramples the  
stepper'

This misinterpretation arises because the elements in question do not carry case endings indicating their syntactic functions, and therefore the reader interprets the sentence on the basis of the expected order of elements i.e. he expects that the element following the



cognate object daws (i.e. al-ḥaṣīd) is the actor of the verb, subsequently the third noun al-dāʿisi is interpreted as the object which is the only alternative left, i.e.

he supplied the vowelling:

fadāṣahun dawsa al-ḥaṣīdi al-dāʿisa

which is wrong textually and also unlikely semantically.

However, if we reconsider the above example with appropriate case endings we have the following two interpretations depending on the case endings supplied.

a) /fadāṣahum dawsa al-ḥaṣīda al-dāʿisi/

'and he trampled them as the trampling of a stepper  
on the harvest'

b) /fadāṣahum dawsa al-dāʿisi al-ḥaṣīda/

'and he trampled them as the trampling of a stepper  
on the harvest'

c) /fadāṣahum dawsa al-ḥaṣīdi al-dāʿisu/

'the stepper trampled on them as he would trample  
the harvest'

The reading (a) which is in fact the textually correct one is in an unusual order since the object of the verb (al-ḥaṣīd) is interposed between the two elements of genitive structure (dawsa - al-dāʿisi). The more expected order would be (b)

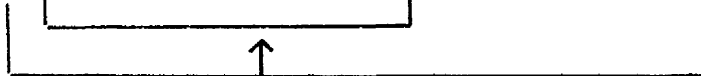
/fadāṣahum dawsa al-dāʿisi al-ḥaṣīda/.

(c) on the other hand is a possible reading which is grammatically correct and semantically feasible but textually incorrect, in that however it represents an unusual sequence since the subject of the verb al-dāʿisu

is separated from the dāsahum by other elements.

In trying to prove this point, again we regard genitive construction as a construction composed of two noun phrases syntactically bound together, marked by case endings. The first element is a noun and the second element may be a noun, or a noun construct. Whatever the case may be, the entire construction which is a head followed by modifier in surface structure can be followed by an adjective. Normally, the adjective modifies the preceding element. Here with genitive construction, functional analysis shows that various types of relations can be seen, the choice of each type being determined by contextual and grammatical considerations (such as case endings). The following examples are given as an illustration of this point. Each example has its interpretation according to whether the adjective is assigned to the noun head of genitive construction or to its modifying genitive element or to each equally:

(1)    kitābā                      al-rasūli                      al-karīmān



(+ context + nom. case endings + concord in number)

'the two distinguished letters of the prophet'

i.e. al-kitābāni al-karīmāni {<sup>li</sup>mana al-rasūl

(2)    kitābā al-rasūli                      al-karīmi

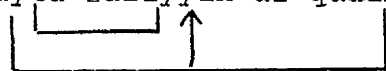


(+ cont. + concord in case and number

'the two letters of the noble prophet'

i.e. al-kitābāni {<sup>li</sup>mina al-rasūli al-karīm

(3) /baytu ʔaliyyin al-qadīmu/



(+ context + Nom. case endings)

'Ali's old house'

i.e. equal to

/al-baytu al-qadīmu liʔaliyyin/

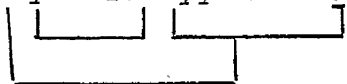
but we cannot say:

\*/baytu ʔaliyyin al-qadīmi/



i.e. \*al-baytu liʔaliyyin al-qadīm

(4) /baytu ʔaliyyin al-dakiyyi/



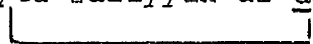
(+ context + genitive case endings)

'(the intelligent) Ali's house'

i.e. /al-baytu liʔaliyyin al-dakiyy/

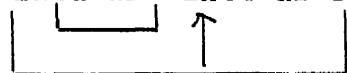
but not:

\*/baytu ʔaliyyin al-dakiyyu/



i.e. \*/al-baytu al-dakiyyu liʔaliyyin/

(5) /risālatu al-binti al-Tawīlatu

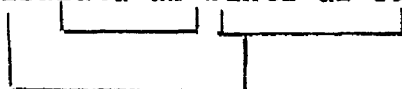


(+ context + nom. case endings)

'the girl's long message'

i.e. /al-risālatu al-Tawīlatu lil-binti/

/risālatu al-binti al-Tawīlati/



(+ context + gen. case endings)

'the tall girl's message'

i.e. /al-risālatu lil-binti al-Tawīlati/



that Day of (Judgment - the Day when you will be)  
calling unto one another (in distress)', (1)

2 - Single head + multiple modifier

H                    M                    M                    M

/mitla da?bi qawmi nūhin wa ʿādin wa tamūda.../

'the like of what happened to Noah's people, and  
to (the tribes of) 'Ad and Thamūd...', (2)

3 - Multiple head + single modifier

H                    H                    M

/sayfu wa rumhu Zayd/

'Zayd's sword and spear'

Note that this type of multiple head is less used than the others, since we have another alternative and frequent one. i.e. sayfu zaydin wa rumhuhu. However, rumhu still in genitive relationship with the element zayd across the anaphoric pronoun (hu). Thus, this type can be said also to have multiple head.

### Semantic types

It has already been mentioned (page 477) that various semantic types can be established for the genitive structure. However, the semantic polyvalency of this structure is related to the fact that the genitive structure has its semantic interpretation according to the type of relationship involved. So semantically genitive structures can express the following main types:

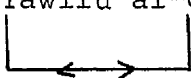
(1) Descriptive where the annexed element is semantically a descriptive attribute to which the genitive element would

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.722, verse 32.

(2) Asad, op.cit., p.722, verse 31.

function as head, and the two elements are bound in a dependent or independent status. The resulting NP can then be used either independently, or dependently to modify a preceding noun such as *Safāʔu al-māʔ* 'the purity of the water' and *waladun jamīlu al-wajhi* 'a boy who has a good looking face' respectively. However an important structural difference between dependent and independent types here is that the former is reversible while the latter is non-reversible e.g. *jamīlu al-wajhi* is reversible to *al-wajhu jamīl* but not *Safāʔu al-māʔi*. Furthermore, these types of structure reflect an associable relationship wherein the first element describes the second and the second is object to the first, e.g.

waladun Tawīlu al-qāmati  
  
 'a boy tall of stature'

Similarly, with different syntagmatic representation, the structural formation of noun + abstract noun, or adverb + verbal clause has a descriptive relationship when the second element describes the first. Thus, the function here is descriptive:

- a) /dāru al-qaDāʔi/  
 'the house of judgement'
- b) /hādā ʔāmu yugātu al-nās/  
 'this is the year of aid for people'

(2) Determinative where the relationship between the two elements involved is one of determination which is

assigned by a structural formation of noun + noun. The second noun determines the first noun. The formation can be paraphrased by noun for noun, e.g.

/kātibu al-dīwāni/

'the clerk of account books of the treasury'

/bintu al-jabali/

'the daughter of the mountain'

(3) Objective, where the annexed element is a verbal abstract or participle to which the genitive element would function as object, such as:

/qātlū Saxrin/

'the murderer of Sakhr'

and

/Dāribu Amrin/

'the one who has beaten Amr'

(4) Explicative relationship where the genitive element can be introduced by the preposition min, and the genitive element shows the origin of the head (object). Compare:

a) /salāsīlu dahabin/

'chains of gold'

b) /salāsīlun min dahabin/

'chains of gold'

Thus, the following underlined elements are explicative of genitive structure

/... mitqāla habbatin min xardalin.../

'the weight of a mustard-seed' <sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Asad, op.cit., p.629, verse 16.

/matalu al-jannati allatī wuḥida al-muttaqūna fīhā  
 ?anhārun min mā?in gayri ?āsin wa ?anhārun min  
labanin lam yataḡayyar Taḡmuhu wa ?anhārun min  
xamrin laddatin lilṣāribina wa ?anhārun min Ḥasalin  
 muṣaffan.../

'(And can) the parable of the paradise which the  
 God-conscious are promised - (a paradise) wherein  
 there are rivers of water which time does not  
 corrupt, and rivers of milk the taste whereof never  
 alters, and rivers of wine delightful to those who  
 drink it, and rivers of honey of all impurity  
 cleansed' (1)

/wa laqad ?ātaynāka sabḤan mina al-matānī  
 wa al-qur?āna al-Ḥadīm/

'AND, INDEED, we have bestowed upon thee seven of  
 the oft-repeated (verses), and (have, thus, laid  
 open before thee) this sublime Qu'an' (2)

/wa ḥuṣira lisulaymāna junūduhu mina al-jinni wa  
al-?insi wa al-Tayr/

'And (one day) there were assembled before Soliman  
 his hosts of invisible beings, and of men, and of  
 birds' (3)

(5) Identification where the relationship between the  
 two elements are being held to identify the first noun.  
 The whole genitive structure is used as a proper noun,  
 e.g.

- 
- (1) Asad, op.cit., p. 779, verse 15.  
 (2) Asad, ibid., p. 391, verse 87.  
 (3) Asad, ibid., p. 578, verse 17.



/baytu al-maqdisi/

'the house of holiness (Jerusalem)'

/jabalu ʕarafātin/

'the mountain of 'arafāt'

/lā ʔuqsimu bi yawmi al-qiyaṁati/

'NAY! I call to witness the Day of Resurrection' (1)

/yawmu ʕarafata /

'the Day of 'arafa'

/yawmu buʕātin/

'the day of Bu'āth'

/fī laylati al-qadri/

'on the Night of Destiny' (2)

(6) Possessive where the relationship is one of ownership:

(1) alienable: (3) /... dāra ʔabī sufyaṁ/

'Abu Sufyaṁ's house'

/... ʔūlū al-ʔalbāb/

'the ones of heart'

(2) inalienable: (3) /bayna ɖirāʕay wa jabhati al-ʔasad/

'between the two paws and the forehead  
of the lion'

(1) /basātīnu zaydin/

'Zayd's gardens'

(2) /tabbat yadā ʔabī lahabin.../

'DOOMED are the hands of him of the  
glowing countenance' (4)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.912, verse 1

(2) Asad, ibid., p.966, verse 1.

(3) These two terms "alienable and inalienable" are borrowed from Stockwell; see Stockwell, R.P. et al. (genitive), The Major Syntactic Structures of English, 1973, p.676.

(4) Asad, ibid., p.983, verse 1.

(1) /...qāla yāqawmi ʔalaysa lī mulku miSra.../  
'O my people! Does not the dominion over Egypt  
belong to me' (1)

(2) /tawbu ḥarīrin/  
'a silk dress'

(7) Partitive genitive where the relationship is made  
by a combination of two elements in annexation in which  
the first represents part of the second (i.e. the genitive  
noun) which is a divided object whether this partitive  
relation is marked off by the partitive particle min  
'of, from' or not. However, the first element may be  
a comparative numeral element (like ʔawwal, ʔāxir), or  
numeral (talātātun min, talātu<sup>tu</sup> al-rijāl etc.) or a noun  
(see partitive relationships, Chapter IV).

e.g.

/wa ʔannahu kāna rijālun mina al-ʔinsi yaʔūdūna birijālin  
mina al-jinni.../

'Yet (it has always happened) that certain kinds of humans  
would seek refuge with certain kinds of (such) invisible  
forces....' (2)

/raʔaytu nāsan mina al-jinn/

'I saw people of the invisible forces'

/lā ṣarīka lahu wa biḍālika ʔumirtu wa ʔanā ʔawwalu  
al-muslimīn/

'in whose divinity none has a share: for thus have I been  
bidden - and I shall (always) be foremost among those who  
surrender themselves unto Him' (3)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.755, verse 51.

(2) Asad, ibid., pp.899-900, verse 6.

(3) Asad, ibid., pp.200-201, verse 163.

/yabqā hamlūhā ?ilā ?āxiri al-sitā?/

'its carrying will remain to the end of winter'

/jā?a talātatu al-rijāl/

'the three (of the) men came'

/fa rajaʔ talātātun mina al-muʔminīn/

'and three (of the) believers returned'

'and three believers returned'

Note that in the last example another interpretation can be obtained in terms of explicative relationship since the element *min* is seen also as explicative particle.

### Fractions

The concept of Fraction is treated here as essentially one of modification in CA, and it has identification referring to partial status in a genitival structure. This section will start with defining the idea of 'Fraction' as expounded by Leech in his book "A Communicative Grammar of English" then we will proceed to describe its features and functions in CA, and the type of nominal phrase in which it occurs. Leech defines partition and fraction in the following two quotations:

"Parts of objects can be referred to by PART NOUNS like part (contrasted with whole), half, a quarter, two-thirds, etc.; also by UNIT NOUNS like piece, slice." (1)

"The fractions one-third, two-fifths, three-quarters, etc. can also be followed by central determiners, and have the alternative of construction." (2)

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(1) and (2) See Leech et al., op.cit., pp.44 and 228 respectively.

The fractions are dealt with below under the two main headings (i) Numeral fractions and (ii) Unit nouns.

(i) Numeral Fractions

Similarly, we may define the simple fraction in CA in that, morphologically speaking, they have the characteristic form fuʕl from the numeral root for 3-10 i.e. the fractions and cardinals 3-10 are related etymologically e.g. tult 'third', rubʕ 'fourth' xums 'fifth' etc., by the form fuʕl from the corresponding cardinal numeral talātah 'three', ʔarbaʕah 'four', xamsah 'five' supported by lexical interpretation. The word niʕf 'half' is relatable to root meaning 'to divide'.

The fractions here are grammatically masculine forms and can appear in singular or dual or plural<sup>(1)</sup> form according to the proportion involved. All fractions, however, may occur with definite or indefinite nouns, in a genitival status. They operate in sequence, producing a partitive relationship in a natural way, as a marked fractional structure. Thus, this structure can be classified as part element followed by whole element. The significance of this lies in the fact that this type of structure is regarded as a part + whole relationship performed through the combination of two contrasted elements.

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(1) The plural of these fractions is of the form ʔafʕāl i.e. talāʔatu ʔarbaʕ 'three quarters'.

Furthermore in the fractional structure a partitive preposition is implied, i.e. the underlying structure implies the preposition min 'of', 'from', in surface structure, or simply the fractional structure shows syntagmatically a partitive relationship which can be marked in deep structure by the preposition min between the two elements involved. However, the use of /min/ in surface structure gives other representations in terms of structure, as follows:

- a) /...?innahā lataʔdilū tuluṭa al-qurʔān/  
'it (Al-IkhlaS) is equal to the third of the Holy Qurʔān'
- b) /...?innahā lataʔdilū tuluṭa(n) (mina) al-qurʔān/  
'it (Al-IkhlaS) is equal to a third of the Holy Qurʔān'
- a) /?axaḍa xumsa ?amwālihim/  
'he took the fifth of their property'
- b) /?axaḍa xumsa(n) (min) ?amwālihim/  
'he took a fifth of their property'

What is of immediate concern to us here is that interestingly, like quantifiers, fractions are a class of dependent elements, which have definite syntactic and semantic characteristics. As has been noticed earlier, fractions semantically are a class of elements showing partitive relationship. Syntactically, they represent a sub-class of 'modifier' and show 'focus' in the noun phrase if they follow the head noun, in which the fraction element should have a suffixed anaphoric pronoun. This is

what is called by Arabic traditional grammar: badalu al-baʿDi mina al-kull 'the substitution of the part for the whole'.

However, again I am discussing the 'fractional items' as functioning as a modifier not head or appositive in a noun phrase.

Compare the following examples where in (a) the fraction is premodifier and in (b) it is postmodifier with focus.

- a) /ʔakaltu tulūṭa al-ragīf/
- 'I ate the third of the loaf'
- b) /ʔakaltu al-ragīfa tulūṭah/
- 'I ate the loaf, the third of it'
- a) /jamaʿa ʔusra ʔamwāli al-ḥarbiyyīn/
- 'He collected the tenth of belligerent's properties'
- b) /jamaʿa ʔamwāla al-ḥarbiyyīna ʔusrahā/
- 'He collected the belligerent's properties, the tenth of it'

The pairs of examples furnished above testify to the fact that the fractional element, which normally precedes the fractionalized element as in (a) is transposed for focus reasons as in (b). We have therefore a concomitant pronoun which shows concordial relationship with the preceding noun. At this level of structure, contrary to the case of ordinary modification, the fraction is mainly considered as the pivot of the numeral concord in the noun phrase which is formed as a single unit

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with any further modifier. That is why, as was pointed out earlier, if an adjective follows, the fractional structure may be seen either as a modifier of the fractional element or as a modifier to the genitive fractionalized noun. Which of these is true will, in the majority of cases, be obvious either from concord or via the context. Consider the following examples:

- 1a) /tulutu ?ahli al-madīnati al-muḥāSar/  
'the besieged third of the city's people'
- 1b) /tulutu ?ahli al-madīnati al-muḥāSarīn/  
'the third of the besieged people of the city'
- 1c) /tulutu ?ahli al-madīnati al-muḥāSarūn/  
'the third besieged people of the city'
- 1d) tulutu ?ahli al-madīnati al-muḥāSarah/  
'the third of the people of the besieged city'


This is not the situation with examples where the modifier tolerates two concordial relations (i.e. with the fraction or the fractionalized noun), the case ending will assign the concord or rather the modificatory relation. Consider:

- 2a) /tulutu al-sahri al-?āxiru/  
'the last third of the month'
- 2b) /tulutu al-sahri al-?āxiri.../  
'the third of the last month'

"Fractional elements" constitute a somewhat marginal class of modifier in that, unlike the case quantifiers kilā, tullah, etc., they can occur in isolation in surface structure. However the view taken here is that they

always have reference to an implied head and therefore function as modifiers. Although sentences like *laka al-niSf* 'you have a half (of something)' occur, the word *niSf* must be regarded as a modifier of something known to the speaker and hearer, so that we say *dirhamun wa niSfu dirham* 'dirham and half dirham', although the head noun (i.e. dirham) is previously mentioned. Furthermore they share the property, common to other modifiers, of constituting a closed system in  $(\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{10})$  and having specific morphological characteristics and occurring in a limited number of syntactic environments i.e.

Genitive construct

 Fraction + noun = fraction + min + noun

To finish off the discussion of fractions, it is important to notice that although fractions as a whole indicate quantity and occur in genitive structure as has been illustrated they contrast to some extent with the quantifiers in that:

(1) Morphologically speaking, the fraction as functioning in the genitive structure is related to the same lexical verb. In other words, the genitivalization of the two elements involved is related to a verb in the underlying structure, while quantifiers are not etymologically related to corresponding verbal forms essentially.

Stockwell points to this criteria when he states that the genitive structure is basically related to an underlying verb (if it is relatable to this point).



"There is a large class of nouns... where it is fairly clear that specific cases underlie the genitive. Most are related in some rather direct way in the lexicon to verbs, and exhibit relations between the head and the dependent case (some of which form genitives) which are extremely close to the relationship between the related verb and its cases."(1)

In this way, fractions belong to the genitive structure. Consider, for instance, the fractions with their relatable verbs below.

verb-related	fraction
<u>talata</u> 'to triple'	<u>tult</u> 'third'
rabaḏa 'to quadrate'	rubḐ 'fourth'
xamasa 'to quintuple'	xums 'fifth'
qaṭaḏa 'to cut'	qiṭḏah 'piece'
natafa 'to pull out'	nutfah 'little of'
kasara 'to break'	kisrah 'chunk'

The two columns suggest the possibility of relating fractions to corresponding verbs which themselves lexically indicate fraction. This is not so with quantifiers which have almost no verbal relation, such as those listed below:

kull 'all'
baḏD 'some'
biDḐ 'few'
kilā 'both'
kam 'how (many, much), amount'
kaḏā 'so many'
<u>tullah</u> 'group'

---

(1) Stockwell, op.cit., p.683.

Therefore since fractions are relatable to verbs they are a class of adjective, whereas the corresponding quantifiers, as we have mentioned above, are a class of noun. Similarly a further defining characteristic of the fractions as a class is that unlike other quantifiers, they can occur with the possessive object pronouns -ī 'my', -ka 'your' -hu 'his' etc. i.e. tasallamtu xumsī 'I took my fifth' etc.

The quantifiers kull etc. can never be followed by the pronouns with the same function i.e. \*kullī 'the whole belonging to me' is not possible.

(2) Syntactically, the fractions may be more relatable to genitive structure than their counterparts (quantifiers) on the grounds that they include genitivalization in both surface and underlying structure, whereas quantifiers have only genitive in surface structure. On the other hand, fractions are syntactically less dependent than the other counterparts. Moreover, they may be expressed in the form of singular or dual or plural, but not the others.

For these reasons given above, fractions have been dealt with separately here, and considered as modifiers of divisible head noun.

For more illustration, consider:

a) /inxazala ʔanhu ʔabdu allāhi ibnu ʔubayyin bituluti al-nās/

'Abdu allahi ibn ʔubayy held back from him in the third of the people'

- b) /faʔaʕTāhumā tuluta timāri al-madīnah/  
'and he gave them the third of the city's fruit'
- c) /maʕī rubʕu dirham/  
'I have a fourth of Dirham'
- d) /ʕusru ʔamwālī ʔahli al-ḍimmati fī al-tijārāh/  
'The tenth of the non-Muslim's property is in the commerce'
- e) /ʔinna rabbaka yaʕlamu ʔannaka taqūmu ʔadnā min tulutay al-layl/  
'BEHOLD, (O prophet), thy sustainer knows that thou keepest awake (in prayer) nearly two-thirds of the night' (1)

Note that the fraction may modify a fraction head noun such as /wa fi al-riqqati rubʕu al-ʕusr/ 'and in the gold and silver we should pay the fourth of the tenth'.

(ii) Unit Nouns

Finally, the other division of fractions, which are involved in genitive structure, is the class of unit nouns. These may be associated with nouns as a structure of sub-modification, and have the alternative min. The syntactic characteristics of the units are exactly the same as the numeral fractions dealt with above. We list below some of these unit nouns:

luqmah 'bite'

qiṭṭah 'little piece'

kisrah 'chunk'

---

(1) Asad, op.cit., p.905, verse 20.

sarīḥah 'slice'  
 nutfah 'a little of s.th'  
 juz? 'part'  
 ḥiSSah 'portion'  
 sahm 'share of s.th'  
 Taraf }  
 zulafah } 'minimum amount'  
 niSāb }  
 baDʿah 'little piece'

The above list contains elements which represent fractions, i.e. they have different forms. However, these elements occur with singular and common divisible nouns; or mass nouns, denoting parts of objects. Thus:  
 If we consider, for instance, the following example:

- ...sarīḥatan }  
 ...baDʿatan } mina al-laḥm  
 ...qiTʿatan }  
 'a piece of meat'
- b) ...al-sarīḥatu }  
 ...al-baDʿatu } mina al-laḥm  
 ...al-qiTʿatu }  
 'the piece of the meat'
- a) ...ḥiSSatan )  
 ...naSīban ) mina al-Taṣām  
 'a part of the food'
- b) ...al-ḥiSSata )  
 ...al-naSība ) mina al-Taṣām  
 'the part of the food'

We notice that the fractional relation is performed by unit noun (be it with or without al-) + min + noun. The syntagmatic representation thus is the characteristic feature of fractional structure. That is to say, this kind of structure is realized by the sequence of elements which are syntagmatically marked as unit noun followed by element(s).

The point to be made in this connection is that the difference between unit nouns and the numerals of fraction lies in the fact that unit nouns are a class of nouns, while the others are a class of numeral fraction. The majority of these unit nouns function as a premodifier to a definite head noun. They are all related to their heads in a partitive relationship.

1a) /kāna lilnabiyyi Salla allāhu Ṣalayhi wa sallama  
M H  
sahmun mina al-ḡanimati sahida ʔaw ḡāb/

St. premodifier + head

State def. NP

1b) /qara? juz?ahu mina al-layl/

premodifier + head

fraction + prep. + noun

def. NP

In this way (1c-e) are analysable.

1c) /faʔasqiT <sup>M</sup>ʔalaynā <sup>H</sup>kisafan mina al-samāʔ/

'cause, then, fragments of the sky to fall down  
upon us' (1)

1d) /kāna yusrifu fī taSgīri <sup>H</sup>luqmati <sup>M</sup>al-xubz/

'He was cutting extremely small pieces of bread'

1e) /wa ʔaqim <sup>M</sup>al-Salāta <sup>H</sup>Tarafay <sup>H</sup>al-nahāri <sup>M</sup>wa zulaʔan mina  
<sup>H</sup>al-layl/

'And be constant in praying at the beginning and  
the end of the day, as well as during the early  
watches of the night' (2)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.572, verse 187.

(2) Asad, ibid., p.333, verse 114.

## CHAPTER VII

### NUMERAL PHRASE STRUCTURES

#### Introduction

In Chapter IV 'Quantifiers' an attempt was made to distinguish quantifiers from numerals. The distinction was attributed to characteristics as advanced in (pp.194-198). Here we will attempt to give a full treatment of numerals as they appear, and function in the NP, which will take this chapter to cover.

Numerals are dealt with within the framework of modification. The treatment is based on syntactic and semantic relationships obtaining between the elements which appear in the structural configuration of numeral phrases. Various types of structure are involved in numeral phrases and these are dealt with separately.

In our description of the numeral function in an NP, the discussion falls under these main headings:

- I) Morphological class
- II) Form and structure
- III) Semantic implications

- (I) Morphologically, numerals fall into two main classes.
  - a) A class of noun where the numeral is one of the cardinal forms. This class can further be divided into four groups on the basis of the forms to which the term

'numeral' is applicable. These four class types are exemplified by the following: (a) talātah 'three', (b) talātata ṣaṣar 'thirteen', (c) talātūn 'thirty', and (d) talātun wa talātūn 'thirty three' (i.e. (a) individual, (b) compound, (c) tens, (d) coordinate). A full explanation of the classification follows below (pp.510-513).

b) A class of adjectives where the numeral is one of ordinals that are marked by the form fāṣil from the cardinals 1-10 e.g. al-rajulu al-ḥādī ṣaṣar 'the eleventh man'. The ordinals from 2-10 may be used in the following three uses: (i) in isolation, (ii) as compounds, and (iii) coordinated with cardinals e.g. (i) al-waladu al-tālīt 'the third boy', (ii) al-waladu al-tālita ṣaṣar 'the thirteenth boy', and (iii) al-waladu al-tālitu wa al-talātūn 'the thirty third boy'.

This class embraces some further words (not of the form fāṣil) which denote numeral as listed below:

<u>ʔawwal</u>	}	'first'
<u>ʔulā</u>		
<u>fard</u>	}	'a single one'
<u>fardah</u>		
<u>ʔāxar</u>	}	'another, other'
<u>ʔuxrā</u>		
<u>ʔāxir</u>	}	'last one'
<u>ʔāxirah</u>		
<u>ʔaxīr</u>		
<u>ʔaxīrah</u>		



Following up this identificatory classification, numerals are significantly divided into two types: 'cardinals' and 'ordinals' which are distinguishable by form and structural configuration.

(II) Form and Structure:

Certain differences of form are important in the description of the numerals dividing them into separate groups. Also the syntactic structure of cardinal numeral phrases and ordinal numeral phrases is different. These are dealt with below:

A) Form of the Numeral

(i) Group A

The ordinals<sup>(1)</sup> 1-10 differ in the form from the corresponding cardinals whether they are used in isolation or as a member of a compound or coordinate like 3, 11, 25 to which each type is assigned by form.

(ii) Group B

The numerals 20-30-40 etc. do not differ in form, and they function as both cardinal and ordinal. Their function in this respect is revealed by the syntactic structure in which they occur and by whether the article al- 'the', is present or not.

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(1) Footnote: Related to the numeral wāḥid 'one' is also a form ʔaḥad /fem. ʔiḥdā 'one' which is also a numeral, but is also used to indicate indefiniteness. This is dealt with under quantifiers.

These two types of numeral, however, occur as simple or compound units which are formed according to the numerical category involved.

To further illustrate this, consider the following tables given below which show both types with simple unit as in (1) and (5), with compound units as in (3) and with coordinate units as in (4).

Group A

Table I

Number	Cardinals (+ al)	Ordinals (+al)
1	wāḥid 'one'	al-ʔawwal 'first'
<	itnān 'two'	al-tāni 'second, other'
٣	talātah 'three'	al-tālīt 'third'
Σ	ʔarbaḥ 'four'	al-rābiΣ 'fourth'
o	xamsah 'five'	al-xāmis 'fifth'
٦	sittah 'six'	al-sādis 'sixth'
v	sabḥah 'seven'	al-sābiΣ 'seventh'
Λ	tamāniyah 'eight'	al-tāmin 'eighth'
9	tisḥah 'nine'	al-tāsiΣ 'ninth'
1.	Σasarah 'ten'	al-Σāsir 'tenth'

Referring to Table I, for the majority of cases the ordinals from (2-10) occur with al- 'the' if following the head, i.e., al-taʔammulu al-xāmis 'the fifth consideration'. Such examples as taʔammulun xāmis

'a fifth consideration', are possible, but very rarely used. According to an investigation of three texts carried out by the writer, 90.48% of all occurrences of the ordinal included the article, 9.52% occurred without the article. The actual figures found are shown below.

TABLE II

Text	Number of Examples	(+al)	(-al)	Ratio
ṬanṬawī M.	64	60	4	15:1
Al-Ṣaqqād A.	17	17	0	17:0
Al-bāqūrī A.	24	18	6	3:1

Examples:

- (1) /fī ʔawāxiri al-qarni al-tāliti al-hijriy /  
'at the end of the third century A.H.'
- (2) /tumma daxala Ṣalayhim fī al-yawmi al-rābiʿi rajul/  
'and then a man entered on them in the fourth day'
- (3) /tumma ḥajja Ṣalawātu allāhi Ṣalayhi fī al-sanati  
al-Ṣāsirah/  
'and the messenger (may the blessings of Allah be  
upon him) has done the pilgrimage at the tenth year'

The above illustrations reveal a preponderance of occurrence of the ordinals (2-10) with the article. A number of contrary examples are however given below:

- (1) /wa zaṢama baṢDun minhum raʔyan tālita /  
'and some of them claimed a third opinion'

- (2) /fī ḥālātī nusūbi ḥarbin maʿa farīqin tālīt/
- 'in case of outbreak war with a third troop'
- (3) /istahḍatati al-ʿandalusu maḍhaban rābiʿā/
- 'Al-ʿandalus created a fourth view'

TABLE III

Number	Compound Card. (+al-)	Compound ordin. (+al-)
11	ʿahada ʿasar 'eleven'	al-ḥādiya ʿasar 'the eleventh'
12	itnā ʿasar 'twelve'	al-tāniya ʿasar 'the twelfth'
13	talātata ʿasar 'thirteen'	al-tālita ʿasar 'the thirteenth'
14	ʿarbaʿata ʿasar 'fourteen'	al-rābiʿa ʿasar 'the fourteenth'
15	xamsata ʿasar 'fifteen'	al-xāmisa ʿasar 'the fifteenth'
etc.		

TABLE IV

Number	Coordinate Card. (+al-)	Coordinate ordin. (+al-)
<1	wāhidun wa ʿisrūn 'twenty one'	al-ḥādī wa al-ʿisrūn 'twenty-first'
<<	itnāni wa ʿisrūn 'twenty two'	al-tānī wa al-ʿisrūn 'twenty-second'

Continued

TABLE IV (Continued)

Number	Coordinate Card. (+al-)	Coordinate ordin (+al-)
<٣	talātātun wa ʕisrūn 'twenty three'	al-tālītu wa al-ʕisrūn 'twenty-third'
<٤	?arbaʕātun wa ʕisrūn 'twenty four'	al-rābiʕu wa al-ʕisrūn 'twenty-fourth'
<٥	xamsātun wa ʕisrūn 'twenty five'	al-xāmisu wa al-ʕisrūn 'twenty-fifth'
etc.		

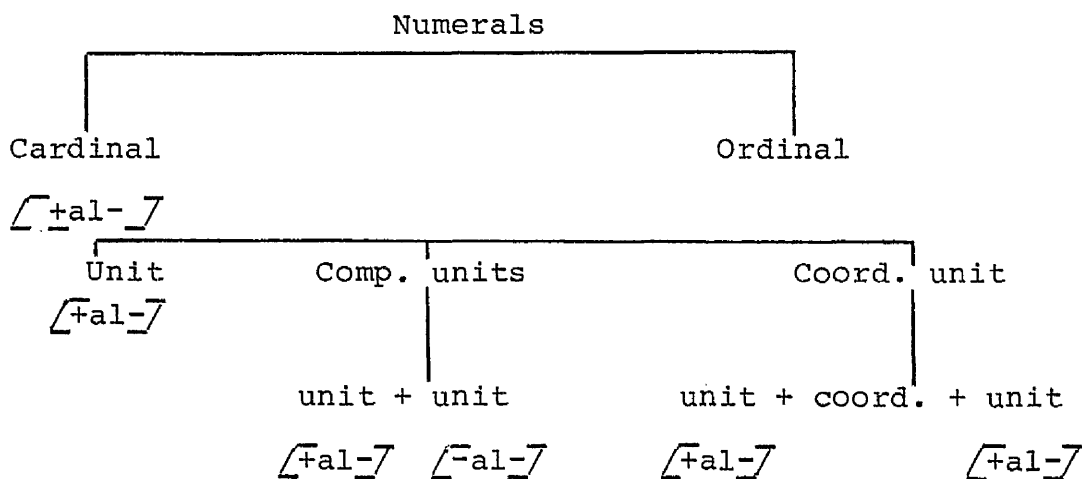
Group B

TABLE V

Number	Cardinals (+al-)	Ordinals (+al-)
<.	ʕisrūn 'twenty'	al-ʕisrūn 'the twentieth'
٣.	talātūn 'thirty'	al-tālātūn 'the thirtieth'
٤.	?arbaʕūn 'forty'	al-?arbaʕūn 'the fortieth'
٥.	xamsūn 'fifty'	al-xamsūn 'the fiftieth'
٦.	sittūn 'sixty'	al-sittūn 'the sixtieth'
٧.	sabʕūn 'seventy'	al-sabʕūn 'the seventieth'
٨.	tamānūn 'eighty'	al-tamānūn 'the eightieth'

To recapitulate, we give a summary of the main characteristics of numeral forms put forward in the preceding tables:

- a) As simple units, cardinals and ordinals of tens, also the units 1,00, 1,000, 1,000,000,<sup>(1)</sup> in contradistinction to those termed complex units from 11-99, are invariable in form.
- b) As complex units, the numeral falls into compound and coordinate units. In both types, only the first element will have the ordinal form while the second retains its cardinal figure, as in Tables (3) and (4).
- c) In terms of prefixation, the cardinals and ordinals differ in that the former may or may not have the article al-, whereas the latter appear always with al-, i.e. it is permanently prefixed to the ordinals: tens in unit, the first element in compound units and both elements in coordinate units, as in Tables (3), (4) and (5) above.
- Thus:



(1) Footnote: In old classical miʔah and ʔalf are common. In modern usage the term malyun is also used.

Such an analysis is based on structural combinations since numerals enter the nominal group structure in association with another element which they modify. Therefore they take their form according to the total structural configuration (see below).

B) The structure

The structure in which a cardinal occurs may or may not show the article. And the phrase will be singular or plural depending on the meaning. In structure with an ordinal, the phrase always shows the article and is singular in meaning. Thus:

(i) Cardinals:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \text{[+article]} \text{ Head } \text{[+article]} \text{ Mod.} \\ \text{(b) } \text{[+article]} \text{ Mod. } \text{[-article]} \text{ Head} \\ \text{(c) } \text{[-article]} \text{ Mod. } \text{[+article]} \text{ Head} \end{array} \right\}$$

(ii) Ordinals: al + Head(sing.) al + Mod.

The above structures are exemplified as follows:

- (1) (a)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{qara?a al-?āyāti al-tisΣah} \\ \text{'He read the nine verses'} \\ \text{qara?a ?āyātin tisΣah} \\ \text{'He read the nine verses'} \end{array} \right\}$
- (b)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{qara?a al-tisΣa ?āyāt} \\ \text{'He read the nine verses'} \\ \text{qara?a tisΣa ?āyāt} \\ \text{'He read nine verses'} \end{array} \right\}$

(c) /qaraʔa tisʕa al-ʔayāt/ <sup>(1)</sup>

'He read the nine verses'

(2) /qaraʔa al-ʔayāti al-tāsiʕah/

'He read the ninth verse'

Note that cardinals occupy first or second position.

Ordinals occupy second position as in the example given above. But see also (p. 533 below) (i.e. ...tāsiʕa ʔayah)

At this point it should be made clear that as far as numerals are concerned the elements in the structure of the numeral phrases are quite free to occupy any order. In such combinations the position of each type is assigned in accordance with the normal rules, as illustrated above. In ordinal structure the article almost invariably occurs as illustrated below. However although the classical grammarians did not mention it, there is a commonly occurring structure where the Head and modifier are transposed. This is parallel to structures of the comparative type ʔakbaru xalīfah 'the oldest Caliph'.

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(1) Footnote: Note that the traditional CA grammarians Al-Baʕriyyūn and Al-kufiyyūn (early Arab scholars at Baʕrah and Kūfah in Iraq) differ with regard to where the article should be prefixed in a nominal phrase with two elements: numeral element and noun. The Baʕrah school stated that the article should be prefixed only to the noun, as in 1(c), while the Kūfah school stated that both elements have the prefix, i.e. al-tisʕa al-ʔayāt. Nowadays the most common usage is to have the article preceding the numeral only i.e. al-tisʕa ʔayāt. This was rarely used in classical except in certain pronouncements of the prophet (peace be upon him) i.e. wa ʔatā bi al-ʔalfi dinār 'and he gave the one thousand Dinar' and tumma qaraʔa al-ʕasra ʔayāt 'and he read the ten verses' (see Ḥasan, A., vol.I, p.438).



In this structure although the article is not present, nevertheless the phrase is semantically and grammatically definite since there is no choice of prefixing or not prefixing the article. It is therefore definite by structure. This may be glossed as follows:

- (1) The ordinary structure

[-al] + Head [sing.] [-al] + Mod. [sing.]  
(num.)

e.g.

al-xalīfatu al-tālīt

'the third Caliph'

- (2) The transposed structure

[-al] + Head [sing.] [-al] + Mod. [sing.]  
(num.)

e.g.

tālītū xalīfah<sup>(1)</sup>

'the third Caliph'

The foregoing discussion shows that numerals are classifiable in terms of form and structure. In conclusion we may reiterate that cardinal numerals as a class are dependent nouns since they occur only in structure with a

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(1) Footnote: It is perhaps appropriate here to mention that the transposed structure occurs only in today's language. In CA, the ordinals occur always after the head noun they modify, as in (1), they never precede the head, as in (2). So, traditional grammarians stated that ordinals precede only the corresponding cardinal or the cardinal one below or over (in the annexation structure) e.g. talītū talātah 'the third of three', or tālītū itnāyn (i.e. 'the third following two') or rābiʿū xamsah 'the fourth of five'. (See Hasan, A. vol.4, pp.554 - 558). However, the cardinals here are used in a pronominal function.

head explicitly or implicitly. Examples:

a) /qara?a sittata ʔajzāʔ/

'He read six parts'

b) /qara?a sittah/

'He read six (parts)'

a) /ḥaDara Tālibun wāḥid/

'One student attended'

b) /ḥaDara wāḥid/

'One (student) attended'

The sentences qara?a sittah and ḥaDara wāḥid cannot occur without a preceding context which supplies the implied head. This is also true of the ordinal class which forms a class of dependent adjectives and equally only occurs with an explicit or implied head. (1)

Examples:

a) /istashada marratan t̄aniyatan bi ḥāḍiḥi al-ʔabyāti  
fī al-bābi al-t̄amin/

'He cited once again these verses in the eighth part.'

b) /istashada ( ) t̄aniyatan bi ḥāḍiḥi al-ʔabyāti  
fī al-bābi al-t̄amin/

'He cited ( ) again these verses in the eighth part'

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(1) Footnote: However the words al-ʔawwal 'the First', al-wāḥid 'the One', al-ʔāxir 'the Last' especially when used in a theological context in reference to Allah 'God' may be said to be abstracts and not stand in reference to an implied head, since no class of element is present to members of which these could apply.

- a) /al-Tawru al-tālītu Tawru al-nuDūji wa al-kamāl/  
'The third stage is the stage of maturity and perfection'
- b) /( ) al-tālītu Tawru al-nuDūji wa al-kamāl/  
'The third (stage) is the stage of maturity and perfection'

### Contextual restrictions on numerals

So far as the primary framework of the numeral is concerned, we have, in the appropriate places, assigned 'Numerals' in linguistic description to various classes. Certain other features of the numeral word type depending on the context of the numeral phrase are dealt with below.

(i) The first concerns the grammatical features of numerals in concordial relationships with the head, the area where numerals in context exhibit:

- a) gender polarity with the head which they precede and twofold gender (i.e. optional concord), with the head which they follow; according to the constituent-structure of numeral phrases.
- b) case ending status where numerals have independent case with regard to the head which they precede and case endings dependent on the head which they follow.

Taking into account the following quotation,

"One of the most obvious of the phenomena in language falling within the scope of the notion of 'context-sensitivity' is concord (or 'agreement')... In many languages, the constituents of a particular syntactic construction are said to 'agree', or be 'in concord', with respect to such features as 'gender', 'number', 'case', 'person', etc." (1)

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(1) Lyons, Introduction... op.cit., p.239.

Numerals in CA occur in various patterns and with various case endings.

A) Gender and Number concord with the different Numeral patterns

(1) Numeral patterns from (3-10) show gender/number polarity with the head which they modify. Thus:

a)  $\left[ \text{num.} + \text{fem. marker} \right] \left[ \text{sing.} \right] + \left[ \text{noun masc.} \right] \left[ \text{plu.} \right]$   
 e.g. ... tamāniyata ʔayyāmin  
 'eight days'

b)  $\left[ \text{num.} - \text{fem. marker} \right] \left[ \text{sing.} \right] + \left[ \text{noun fem.} \right] \left[ \text{plu.} \right]$   
 e.g. ... sabʕa layālin  
 'seven nights'

(2) Numeral patterns of 11-12 show gender identity with the head in both elements of the compound. Both the head and the numeral are singular in form. Thus:

a)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{cc} \text{Numeral pattern} & \\ (1) & (2) \\ -\left[ \text{fem. marker} \right] & -\left[ \text{fem. marker} \right] \end{array} \right\} \left[ \text{sing.} \right] + \left[ \text{noun masc.} \right] \left[ \text{sing.} \right]$   
 e.g. ʔahada ʕasara kitāban  
 'eleven books'

b)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{cc} \text{Numeral pattern} & \\ (1) & (2) \\ +\left[ \text{fem. marker} \right] & +\left[ \text{fem. marker} \right] \end{array} \right\} \left[ \text{sing.} \right] + \left[ \text{noun fem.} \right] \left[ \text{sing.} \right]$   
 e.g. ʔihda ʕasarata risālatan  
 'eleven messages'

(3) Numeral patterns from (13-19) show gender polarity with the head in the first element and gender identity in the second element and again both the head and the modifier are singular in form.

Thus:

$$a) \left\{ \begin{array}{cc} \text{Numeral pattern} & \\ (1) & (2) \\ +\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{fem.} \\ \text{marker} \end{array} \right] & - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{fem.} \\ \text{marker} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sing.} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{noun masc.} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sing.} \end{array} \right]$$

e.g. talātata ṣaṣara rajuḷā

'thirteen men'

$$b) \left\{ \begin{array}{cc} \text{Numeral pattern} & \\ (1) & (2) \\ -\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{fem.} \\ \text{marker} \end{array} \right] & + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{fem.} \\ \text{marker} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sing.} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{noun fem.} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sing.} \end{array} \right]$$

e.g. talāta ṣaṣarata imraʔah

'thirteen women'

The same is applied to coordinate numerals from (23-99) where the first element shows polarity with the head and the second is not marked for gender (i.e. invariable).

Thus:

$$a) \left\{ \begin{array}{cc} \text{Numeral pattern} & \\ (1) & (2) \\ +\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{fem.} \\ \text{marker} \end{array} \right] & - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{fem.} \\ \text{marker} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sing.} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{noun masc.} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sing.} \end{array} \right]$$

e.g. talātātun wa ṣiṣrūna maḍhabā

'twenty three views'

$$b) \left\{ \begin{array}{cc} \text{Numeral pattern} & \\ (1) & (2) \\ -\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{fem.} \\ \text{marker} \end{array} \right] & - \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{fem.} \\ \text{marker} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sing.} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{noun fem.} \\ \text{fem.} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{sing.} \end{array} \right]$$

e.g. talātun wa ṣiṣrūna masʔalah

'twenty three cases'

4) Numeral patterns of tens are not marked for gender (i.e. invariable), however both the head and numeral are singular in form except mi?ah and ?alf as given in p514. Thus:

a) [num.-fem. marker] [sing.] + [noun masc.] [sing.]

e.g. ʔisrūn rajulā

'twenty men'

/mi?atu dīnār/

'one hundred Dinar'

/?alfu dirham/

'one thousand Dirham'

b) [num.-fem. marker] [sing.] + [noun fem.] [sing.]

e.g. ʔisrūna imra?ah

'twenty women'

/...mi?ata jaldah/

'a hundred stripes'

/...?alfa sanah/

'a thousand years'

/fī kulli sunbulatin mi?atu habbah/

'in every ear a hundred grains' (1)

/wa ?inna yawman ʔinda rabbika ka?alfi sanatin

minmā taʔudūn/

'- and, behold, in thy Sustainer's sight a

day is like a thousand years of your reckoning' (2)

5) Numeral patterns which follow the head show twofold gender representations, i.e. they may show identity or polarity with the head. Thus:

(1) Asad, op.cit., p.59, verse 261

(2) Asad, ibid., p.513, verse 47.

- a)  $\angle \text{noun masc.} \angle \text{plu.} + \angle \text{noun} + \text{fem. marker} \angle \text{sing.}$   
 e.g. ...bihādihi al-darāhimi  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{al-xamsah} \\ \text{al-xams} \end{array} \right.$

'by these five dirhams'

- b)  $\angle \text{noun fem.} \angle \text{plu.} + \angle \text{num.} + \text{fem. marker} \angle \text{sing.}$   
 e.g. wa tuqīmu fīhī banātun  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sabʕah} \\ \text{sabʕ} \end{array} \right.$

'and seven girls are living in this house'

## B) Case endings

As a grammatical feature, the case ending of the numeral shows two distinct types of status with respect to the head noun.

### (i) Independent Status

When the numeral precedes the head its case is dependent upon general syntactic feature of its place in the sentence. Its relationship to the following noun may be of the following four types: (a)  $\angle \text{Numerals 3-10} \angle$  annexation in which the numeral and noun stands as a construct,<sup>(1)</sup> (b)  $\angle \text{Numerals 11-19} \angle$  combination in which the head noun is in the accusation and the numeral is in the accusative without nunation, (c)  $\angle \text{Numerals 21-99} \angle$  in which the head noun is in the accusative and the numeral is in an appropriate case, and (d)  $\angle \text{Numerals of the series 20, 30, 40} \angle$  in which the head noun is in the accusative and the numeral is in an appropriate case.

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(1) For the syntactic features of the construct, see pp-515-519

- a) (i) /xaraja talātatu rijālin ?ila makkah/  
'Three men went to Mecca'
- (ii) /ra?aytu talātata rijālin/  
'I saw three men'
- (iii) /mararatu bi talātati rijālin/  
'I passed by three men'
- b) /wa dālika ba?da ?an ba?atahu allāhu ?azza wa jalla  
bi talāta ?asarata sanatan/  
'and that was thirteen years after Allah (powerful  
and glorified be He) has sent him (Mohammad  
may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him)'
- c) (i) /wa fīhā talātūna rajulan min qurays/  
'and there were thirty men from Quraish in it'
- (ii) /fa?aqāma bihā talātīn yawmā/  
'and he stayed thirty days'
- (iii) /wa ba?ata ḥamzata fī talātīna rākiban mina  
al-muhājirīn/  
'and he sent Ḥamzah with thirty riders from  
the emigrants'
- d) (i) /wa naḥnu talātatun wa sab?ūna rajulan/  
'we were seventy three men'
- (ii) /wa qad gazā rasulu allāhi sab?an wa ?isrīna  
gazwatan/  
'and the Messenger of Allah has himself carried  
out twenty seven military campaigns'
- (iii) /wa ba?ata ?aShābahu fī sab?in wa ?arba?īna  
sariyyatan/  
'and he sent his companions in forty seven  
military detachments'



2) Dependent status.

When the numeral follows the head it shows complete concordial relationship in case.

e.g.

- (i) /faDallat al-nazaṣātu al-talātatu.../  
'and the three indications remained...'
- (ii) /Ṣalā hīni ʔanna al-Twāra al-talātata.../  
'while the three stages...'
- (iii) /... bi hāḍihi al-Sifāti al-xamsi,.../  
'by these five qualities'

To conclude the actual morphological form of the numeral regarding presence or absence of the feminine marker and the case endings depends upon the particular structure in which it occurs and the numeral series to which it belongs. It is obvious from the above examples that numerals form a distinct sub-class of adjective and follow particular concord rules. Again the distinction between feminine and masculine patterns is purely contextual: since, regardless of the value of the gender marker, the head noun always determines the gender of the numeral, although the numeral may show the feminine marker, but refer to a masculine entity and vice versa.

The sequential relationship of Numeral and Noun

The numerals occur in various positions to form the modifier-head relation. Here, we undertake to examine the operation of the numerals in an NP with regard to their linear relationship and structural function as

modifier and head. This is dealt with under four types:

- Type I : head noun + postmodifier
- Type II : premodifier + head noun
- Type III : head noun + post-posed premodifier
- Type IV : pre-posed postmodifier + head noun

In dealing with these four, syntactic and semantic references will be made to establish each type. In clearer terms, the position of the numeral with regard to the noun is a characteristic of numeral phrases as opposed to other noun phrases whether the numeral is behaving as a substantive (pre-noun position) or as an adjectival (post-noun position). We therefore have four structures to consider with regard to the position of the numeral involved. In order to illustrate this mechanism of variable order and representation, consider the following four representative examples:

- (1) /... gayra nawṣin wāhidin min ʔanwāṣi al-ṣiṣr/  
'except one type from the various types of poetry'
- (2) /ʔinna ṣiddata al-ṣuhūri ṣinda allāhi itnā ṣaṣara ṣahrā/  
'BEHOLD, the number of months, in the sight of God is twelve months.'<sup>(1)</sup>
- (3) /fī mudunin ṭalāṭah/  
'in three towns'
- (4) /rābiṣu masʔalah/  
'fourth case'

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(1) See Asad, op.cit., p.264, verse 36.

The examples presented above are four types; each type represents a numeral phrase which will be treated below with regard to:

- (i) the form of the numeral involved in each type
- (ii) how the order is dependent on the form of the numeral
- (iii) the possibilities of transposition within an NP.

#### Type I: Head Noun + Post Modifier

In this type occurs both (A) numerals placed constantly after the head noun and (B) those which occur more usually after the noun.

(A) The first group includes the following items which show masculine and feminine forms:

wāhid, wāhidah 'one'

itnan, itnatān 'two'

?āxar, ?uxrā 'other, another'

?axīr, ?axīrah 'last (one)'

?awwaliyy, ?awwaliyyah 'primary'

fardiyy, fardiyyah 'single'

tunā?iyy, tunā?iyyah 'twofold'

waḥdahu, waḥdahā 'alone'

waḥīd, waḥīdah 'alone'

All the above items are assigned to the class of Numeral since they have the semantic features of numerality, this is based on grammatical and semantic grounds. This point can more or less be demonstrated by the following quotation,

"In addition to the ordinals which have a one-for-one relation with the cardinals (fourth~four; twentieth~twenty), we consider here items like next, last, (an)other, additional, which resemble them grammatically and semantically." (1)

Thus: the forms listed above are all words of the class numeral and fall into the group of postmodifiers. They may appear with or without a head noun. In other words, the head noun to which the postmodifier refers may be omitted when it has already been mentioned before or can be extracted from the context. In this way, we have two types of representation: of one and the same structure. These are as follows:

(A)	(B)
Explicit H + post M	Implied H + post M
/daxalū fī waqtin wāḥid/	/laysa fīhā ( ) wāḥid/
'They entered at the same time'	'There was not anyone in it'
/wa qāla allāhu lātattaxidū ?ilāhayni itnayni, ?innamā huwa ?ilāhun wāḥid/	/faqatalū ( ) waḥidan wa ista?sarū ( ) itnayn/
'And God has said: 'Do not take to worshipping two (or more) deities. He is the one and only God' (2)	'and they killed one (man) and captured two (men)'
/qābalahu marratan wāḥidah/	/wa mā ?amruna ?illā <sup>(3)</sup> ( ) wāḥidah/
'He met him once'	'and our ordaining (a thing and its coming into being) is but one (act)' (4)

(1) See Quirk, *op.cit.*, p.65.

(2) Asad, *op.cit.*, p.401, verse 51.

(3) Al-ta'ālibiy stated that in the above verse there is an element head (i.e. ?amratun 'command' or marratun 'once') has been omitted for the sake of brevity, see Al-ta'ālibiy, *op.cit.*, p.318.

(4) Asad, *op.cit.*, p.822, verse 50.

(A)	(B)
/jā?a rajulun ?āxar/ 'Another man came'	/bayna rajulin wa ( ) ?āxar/ 'between a man and another (man)'
/dakara dālika fī kitābihi al-?axīr/ 'He mentioned that in his last book'	/wa fī ( ) al-?axīri kināyah/ 'and in the last one, there is an indirect expression'
/wa laddāru al-?āxiratu xayr/ '; and the life in the hereafter is by far the better...'(1)	/wa bi ( ) al-?āxirati hum yuqinūn/ 'For it is they who in their innermost are certain of the life to come'(2)
/min jarra?i hādītatin fardiyyah/ 'because of a single incident'	/?iDfā?u ( ) al-fardiyyati Σalā al-Σamal/ 'reflecting the individuality on work'

As we see in the above examples, numeral elements are noticeably to be interpreted (and always can only be interpreted) in terms of their function as a modifier. It is to be taken for granted that this type of modification is constrained to post-head position, and it emphasises the meaning of the head noun which is supplied in surface structure, as in column (A), or which has been omitted as understandable from the context, as in column (B). Items placed in postmodifier position are regarded as having the linguistic status of emphasis and constitute

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(1) and (2) Asad, *op.cit.*, p.176, verse 32, p. 4,  
verse 4 respectively.

a nominal phrase, in combination with the implied head.

The point to be stressed here is that in many cases, indeed, omission of the head noun occurs commonly within a nominal phrase structure, when the omission is based on linguistic knowledge, thereby avoiding repetition of the head and focusing attention on what is new, i.e. the numeral modifier.

- (1) When the identical head noun has already been mentioned in a question e.g. kam rajulan jā?a? 'how many (man) men came? jā?a wāḥid 'one (man) came'
- (2) If the head noun has been made in a statement (in a phrasal coordination), the head of the second nominal phrase can be ellipted e.g. tumma kutubun fī al-waḥḍi wa al-ʔirsādi, wa ʔuxrā fī al-muḥāḍarāt 'and books in moral and spiritual guidance, and others (books) in lectures'
- (3) When a noun occurs in the sentence either previously or subsequently to the numeral phrase which is related to the omitted noun. This referring noun can be plural or generic and is introduced by the preposition min, and functions as a head of the whole phrase which may premodify or postmodify it, according to its position, with partitive relationship, as in, ʔindamā jā?a wāḥidun min al-xadam 'when one (servant) of the servants came' and istuḥida mina al-quwwādi wāḥid 'one (leader) of the leaders has been martyred'

It is useful to note in this connection that there are certain phrases of an adverbial type in which a numeral

occurs repeated and is seen to be a modifier of the action of the verb. However when seen as a noun phrase it consists of a modifier with a head, the head being a personal pronoun or a noun. These numeral items form idiomatic expressions of two or more words; and again these reduplicated noun sequences act as a single unit.

Note that the personal pronoun here is considered as a head in terms of structure, as Halliday says:

"Each of these personal forms enters into the structure in one of two guises: either as participant in some process, or as possessor of some entity. If the former, it falls into the class NOUN, subclass PRONOUN, and functions as Head - and sole element - in the nominal group; it then has one form when that nominal group is the subject..."(1)

Thus, we may have the following expressions within nominal phrases:

- (1) /hattā yūqiDahum wāḥidan wāḥidā/  
'Until he awakes them one by one'
- (2) /udxulū al-gurfata, itnayni itnayn/  
'Enter the room two after two'
- (3) /raḥalū al-wāḥidu baʿda al-ʿāxar/  
'They moved away one after the other'
- (4) /jiʿna al-wāḥidatu tilwa al-ʿuxrā/  
'They came, one after the other'
- (5) /iltaqaTahum waḥidatan warāʿa wāḥidah/  
'He picked them, one after another'
- (6) /jāʿa al-nāsu zurāfātin wa wuḥdānā/  
'people came in groups and alone'

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(1) Halliday, et al., Cohesion..., op.cit., p.45.

Considering the above examples, we notice that the constructions of numeral referred to as 'adverbial-descriptive' share the following characteristics:

- (1) They involve a 'two-place descriptive' numeral with adverbial meaning.
- (2) They are used with a syndetic or asyndetic 'subordinator', or rather subordinating adverb or coordinator in surface structure.
- (3) They occur as post modifier in compound feature.

Moreover, the adverbial meaning can also be represented by a single word where the relationship between the numeral and the preceding head which it modifies is circumstantial.

To represent this point, the following five structures are given:

- a) /rabbī lā tadarnī fardā/  
'O my sustainer: leave me not childless' (1)
- b) /wa baqītu ka al-sayfi fardā/  
'and I am left alone as a sword'
- c) /wa kulluhum ?ātīhi yawma al-qiyāmati fardā/  
'and every one of them will appear before Him on Resurrection Day in a lonely state' (2)
- d) /wa laqad ji?tumūnā furādā.../  
'(and God shall say) "and now, indeed, you have come unto us in a lonely state" (3)

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(1) Asad, ibid., p.499, verse 89.  
(2) Asad, ibid., p.469, verse 95.  
(3) Asad, ibid., p.186, verse 94.



- e) /jāʔa zaydun waḥdah/  
'Zayd came alone'

B) The second division of type I is the ordinals.  
Normally ordinals occur in the post-head position; but there are some ordinals (1-10) which allow transposition to the pre-head position, as we have seen above. Certain syntactic features are general to ordinals:

- (1) They occur within the structure of nominal phrase  
e.g. /taʔallafa minhā ʔiqdu al-Tabaqati al-rābiʕah/  
'it (they) constitute the fourth-rate'
- (2) They represent a class of modifier  
e.g. /wa Tāʔifatun tālītātun wādaʕath/  
'and a third group was gentle with him'
- (3) They can be modified by the adverb faqaT only  
e.g. /fī al-madīnati al-tālītati faqaT/  
'in the third city only'
- (4) They are definite by form (i.e. with al-), and by meaning when they are transposed.  
e.g. /tāsiʕu risālah al-risātu al-tasiʕah/  
'the ninth message' 'the ninth message'

Thus, we distinguish two positions of ordinals for the structural configuration of the nominal phrase

- a) variable position (i.e. before and after the head noun) when the ordinal is one of the numerals (2-10), as illustrated above.
- b) Second position (i.e. after the head noun when the ordinal is one of the numerals (11-99))



modify in gender and number concord and in having the article al-. Accordingly, they function as qualitative adjectives in a formal structure whereas if they precede the head they would function as determinative in an informal structure as illustrated above, except two items, i.e. ?awwal 'first' and ?āxir 'last', which function as superlative and inferior respectively whether they precede or follow the head noun. However, with regard to the cardinal relationships, compare:

- 1a) /al-Tawru al-nnahwiyyu al-?awwal/  
'the first syntactical stage'
- 1b) /al-Tabaqatu al-?ūla al-kūfiyyah/  
'the first Kufah (school of grammarians) group'
- 1c) /wa kānat risālatu bāta fī al-masā?ili al-Tabī?iyyati  
?awwala <sup>(1)</sup> mu?allafin ?ilmiyy/  
'and pat's treatise was the first scientific work  
in physical issues'
- 1d) / dālika li?annahā ?awwalu gazwatin fī al-?islām/  
'That is because it was the first campaign in Islam'
- 2a) /wa takāsafā bihādā al-Dīqi fī al-yawmi al-tālīt/  
'and they told each other about this annoyance in  
the third day'
- 2b) /wa huwa yuqri?uni al-qur?āna lil-marrati al-tālītah/  
'and he is making me read the Holy Qur'ān for the  
third time'

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(1) Note that the numeral (2-10) and also ?awwal and ?āxir can be used in a partitive construction with a following noun in the genitive. In these structures the following noun is definite. These occur equivalent to such structures are dealt with more fully under the Genitive (Chapter VI, p. 494 ).

- 2c) /fī tāliti yawm/  
 'on the third day'
- 2d) /fī tāliti marrah/  
 'on the third time'

In 1 and 2 (a,b,c) above, each of the underlined numerals shows gender status in accordance with the head noun it modifies. What is peculiar about the ordinals in 1 and 2(d) is that, though they modify a feminine head noun, they do not have corresponding gender status (i.e. feminine marker) with the head they precede. They are always masculine in this position with a head in singular form. (1)

#### Type II premodifier + head noun

As already pointed out in the previous section on Type I, certain numeral items are seen to have preferred postmodification position. Some of these cardinal and some ordinal. This section undertakes to examine the features of numerals which are seen to have preferred premodification position, i.e. the preferred position for numerals is pre-head position, although they can be transposed. These contrast with ordinals which prefer post-positioning, but can be transposed to premodification position as exemplified above. We see thus that the

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(1) Note that if the head noun is a plural or generic we would have gender concord i.e. ?awwal and ?ulā first, in ?awwalu al-?awlad 'the first of the boys' and ?ulā al-banāt 'the first of the girls', again the structure will be one of genitive constructions.

mechanism of transposition differs from cardinals to ordinals where the transposition of cardinals is forward producing the post-posed type and that of ordinals is backward producing the pre-posed type. Therefore, the cardinals from (3-99) and the numeral items: *miʔah* and *ʔalf* are treated as premodifiers.

The following are examples of this structure:

- (1) /famakatat quraysun ʔala <sup>M</sup>dālika <sup>H</sup>ʔarbaʔa layālin/  
'and Quraish stayed on this situation four nights'
- (2) /fanfajarat minhu itnatā ʔasrata ʔaynan/  
'where upon twelve springs gushed forth from it' (1)
- (3) /wa wāʔadnā mūsā talātina laylatan.../  
'and (then) we appointed for Moses thirty nights' (2)
- (4) /faqad malaka sittan wa talātina sanatan/  
'and he ruled thirty six years'
- (5) /faqasama rasūlu allāhi fī ʔašhābihi fī kulli  
miʔati rajulin jazūrā/  
'and the messenger of God asked every one hundred men  
of his companion to share a camel'
- (6) /wa hum ʔalfu rajulin/  
'and they were one hundred men'

As the above examples show, the underlined two elements in sequence are: one functioning as premodifier, the other as head.

What is very important to the linguistic description we are making here is that syntactically cardinals are

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(1) Asad, *op.cit.*, p.13, verse 60.  
(2) Asad, *ibid.*, p.223, verse 142.

dependent, and show a distinctive syntagmatic feature of being elements (with or without the article) followed by a noun in an indefinite status in surface structure. The whole phrase will be definite if the article is prefixed to the numeral. Below we give examples of definite and indefinite structures:

- (a) /wa k̄anū sittata nafarin mina al-xazraj/  
'and they were six men from al-Khazrag (tribe)'
- (b) /wa k̄anū al-sittata nafarin mina al-xazraj/  
'and they were the six men from al-Khazrag (tribe)'
- (a) /t̄umma qaraʔa ʔasra ʔāyāt/  
'then he read the ten verses'
- (b) /t̄umma qaraʔa al-ʔasra ʔāyāt/  
'then he read the ten verses'
- (a) /wa ʔatā bi ʔalfi dīnār/  
'and he brought one thousand dinars'
- (b) /wa ʔatā bial-ʔalfi dīnār/  
'and he brought the one thousand dinars'

The cardinal above, which are confined to the pre-head position, used with an explicit head noun, and appear with or without the article as in (a) and (b) respectively. The semantic effect of this is that the meaning of cardinals in (a) is inclusive; and in (b) is exclusive. Since the article is prefixed to cardinals for focus, in which prefixed cardinals indicate that what is being enumerated is limited to a number that is focused on (exclusive).

Nevertheless, the head noun occurring with a cardinal can be ellipted, such ellipted heads are implied and can be referred to by an identical element involved in the context. So the types of formal ellipsis are dependent on the linguistic context. The ellipsis of the head however has no more effect than to suggest a closer connection between the content of given clauses. Or as Quirk says:

"often the effect of ellipsis is no more than to suggest a closer connection between the content of the clauses, but sometimes the effect is to indicate that there is a combined process rather than two separate processes." (1)

Thus, the head nouns of cardinals can be ellipted:

1 - If an identical noun has been mentioned earlier

a) /wa al-ʔabyātu al-mazīdatu balagat ʔahada ʔasara  
(baytan)

'and the extra verses reached eleven (verses)

b) /wa ʔalā hādā fa al-ʔabyātu al-majhūlatu fī kitābi  
sībawaihi tisʔatun wa ʔarbaʔūna (baytan), wa al-ʔabyātu  
al-majhūlatu allatī ʔadkuruḥā ʔahadun wa talātūna  
(baytan)

'and according to this investigation, the abanded  
verses which are in Sibawaih's book are forty nine,  
and the abanded verses which I mention are thirty one'

2 - If the identical noun will be mentioned later.

a) /ʔalayhā tisʔata ʔasara. wa mā jaʔalnā ʔaṣḥāba  
al-nāri ʔillā malāʔikatan/

'over it are nineteen (powers). For we have caused  
none but angelic powers to lord over the fire (of hell)' (2)

(1) Quirk, *op.cit.*, p.267

(2) Asad, *ibid.*, p.906, verses 30 and 31.

- b) /ʔarbaʔun, man kunna fīhi kāna munāfiqan xālisan  
 wa man kānat fīhi xaʔlatun minhunna kāna fīhi  
 xaʔlatun mina al-nifāqi ḥattā yadaʔaha: ʔidā ʔtumina  
 xāna. wa ʔidā ḥaddaṭa kaḍaba. wa ʔidā ʔāhada  
 gadara. wa ʔida xāʔama fajara/ (prophet's say)  
 'Four (things) which if anybody possesses them (all)  
 he will be a pure hypocrite and if anybody possesses  
 one such quality, he will have a hypocritical trait  
 unless he abandons it. (These four qualities are that):  
 if he is trusted he will deceive; if he talks, he  
 will lie; if he makes a promise, he will break; and  
 if he quarrels with someone, he will be abused'

So far, cardinals have been dealt with as a premodifier.  
 We have touched upon the post-posed modifier in which the  
 cardinals are transposed for syntactic and semantic  
 reasons (see below).

### Type III. Headnoun + post-posed premodifier

Cardinals can be transposed from pre-posed to post-  
 posed position for reasons of focus. That is to say,  
 cardinals functioning syntactically as premodifier are  
 semantically determinative, a transposition of the cardinal  
 to the post-posed position would result:

- (i) a post-posed modifier in which cardinals are  
 adjectivally used (be it with or without the article  
 as seen below).
- (ii) Focus and emphasis in the nominal phrase with which  
 the cardinal is suffixed by a coterminal pronoun.



(iii) a structure involving a plural head in surface syntax.

Compare the following examples where (a) represents the regular structure and the rest shows the possibilities of

(a) transposition:

- 1a) /qara?tu talātata kutub/  
'I read three books'
- 1b) /qara?tu kutuban talātah/  
'I read three books'
- 1c) /qara?tu al-kutuba al-talātah/  
'I read the three books'
- 1d) /qara?tu al-kutuba talātatahā/  
'I read the books, three of them'
- 2a) /jā?a xamsata ṣasara rajulā/  
'Fifteen men came'
- 2b) /jā?a al-rijālu al-xamsata ṣasar/  
'The fifteen men came'
- 2c) /jā?a al-rijālu xamsata ṣasarahum/  
'The men came, fifteen of them'

The underlined cardinals which act as descriptive adjectives, as in 1(b and c) and 2(b), determinative, as in 1 and 2 (a), emphasiser with coterminous pronoun, as in 1(d) and 2(c), are post-posed modifiers which transposed for focus. Also cardinals here have the same grammatical status of the head noun involved with regard to structural form and case ending.

It is worth mentioning here that the transposition of

Cardinals (11-99) to the post head position is fairly idiomatic; since it is rarely used.

Type IV. Pre-posed postmodifier + Head noun

As we have said before, this type of pre-posed modifier is performed by transposing the ordinals ?awwal 'first' and those of (2-10) to the pre-posed position in the NP. They premodify a singular head noun in the genitive case. Our reason for regarding this as a pre-posed modifier is that the more normal classical usage would be Head + Modifier, i.e. al-qarnu al-xāmis 'the fifth century', while xāmisu qarn 'the fifth century' is the less usual occurrence. It is however not easy to demonstrate that there is any element of focus in this usage. It is however true that the usage xāmisu qarn implies 'the fifth' of a series which may include more than five (i.e. xāmisu al-qurūn 'the fifth of the centuries') while al-qarnu al-xāmis does not imply any suggestion of following centuries. Bearing this in mind, consider the following examples as pre-posed modifier:

- a) /wa kāna ?awwala rajulin ?āmana bial-nabiyy/  
'and he was the first man who believed in the prophet'
- b) /tālitu Tabṣah/  
'the third edition'
- c) /kamā sayajī?u al-kalamu ṣalayhi fī rābiṣi faSl/  
'as we will talk about him in the fourth chapter'
- d) /fī xāmisī yawm/  
'on the fifth day'

The above examples show the ordinals occurring in the pre-head position, by means of transposition (see p. 517).

Cardinals followed by 1,00 or 1,000 in compound structure

When cardinals are followed by mi?ah 'one hundred' or 1,000 'one thousand', we have various types. Each type is analyzable according to the operation of each item in a complex nominal phrase. That is to say, nominal phrases such as:

- 1) /... hattā balagū talāṭa mi?ati rajul/  
'until they reached three hundred men'
- 2) /wa taṣabba?at quraysun wa hum talāṭatu ?ālāfi rajulin wa maṣahum mi?atā faras/  
'and Quraish has mobilized in three thousand men and two hundred horses'
- 3) /...?aḥada ṣaṣara mi?ata kitāb/  
'eleven hundred books'
- 4) /... xamsa ṣaṣarata ?alfa nasamah/  
'fifteen thousand persons'

show that the cardinal numeral modifies the numeral mi?ah, as in (1) and (3), or ?alf as in (2) and (4), and the whole phrase in each one is modifying the following basic head noun in a complex structure. It is to be noted that the basic head noun is always in the genitive case.

### III. The semantic implications

The semantic area is the one with which we are principally concerned in justifying our analysis, since numerals here are considered modifiers on the semantic and structural basis. To put it in clear terms we may quote Wunderlich,

"Mathematically oriented linguistics often deals with formal languages emptied of all possibilities of interpretation; these can be called syntactic languages. But here it is inappropriate to speak of 'languages' in the literal sense, because we cannot communicate with formal languages alone; a means of communication must always have both form and meaning (content, sense)."(1)

However, both structure and semantics are related to the grammatical system through two different axes; one defines the relationship in 'syntagmatic terms' with regard to the structural elements with which the numerals combine, the other defines the relationship in 'semantic terms' with respect to the meanings which the numerals convey, i.e. numerals (3 and upward) in a given structure refer to a specific meaning of the head noun, or as Hudson states for English,

"one might expect the meaning of ten students to be a simple combination of the meanings of ten and of students, parallelling good students, but this is not so. Students on its own is generic, referring either to students in general (students are necessary) or to the property of being a student (they are students) whereas ten students normally refers to a specific group of ten students (Ten students came to the lecture),..."(2)

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- (1) Wunderlich, D., Foundation of Linguistics, C.U.P., 1979, p.11.  
(2) Hudson, D., The Meaning (and syntax) of the noun-phrase in English, under edition, p.4.

Also, as it has been said before, with regard to the presence and absence of al-, numerals fall into two semantic groups. It is however useful to illustrate them here as follows:

1 -	Form: -al + numeral	2 -	Form: +al + numeral
	Function: modifier		Function: modifier
	Meaning: inclusive		Meaning: exclusive.

Numerals may also have an adverbial function when they are repeated after a definite head noun, as exemplified above (pp.532-533).

In this way, numerals are assigned their function, as has been illustrated throughout this chapter.

### Summary

To conclude this chapter, a summary of the main points is given:

- 1) Numerals belong to two morphological classes: noun and adjective.
- 2) They occur in the syntactic structure of an NP characterized by:
  - a) the occurrence with a noun without separation, constituting the syntactic structure of modification: head and modifier.
  - b) transposability, in which the post-posed numeral is seen with or without the article al- 'the' or with al-Damīru al-ʔāʔid 'returning pronoun',

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according to the number status of the head noun  
which must be always definite.

- 3) Numerals are dependent, since they depend in a structure of modification on a combined head noun (be it explicit or implied).
- 4) They fall into four structural classes: Postmodifier, premodifier, post-posed modifier and pre-posed modifier.
- 5) Numerals have inclusive meaning when not preceded by the article al- and exclusive meaning when they are preceded by al-
- 6) They may have adverbial function as shown in pp.531-533.
- 7) They change the meaning of the head noun from generic to specific, though it may be indefinite specific.
- 8) Gender concord of numerals:
  - a) Cardinals show gender polarity with the head when they precede, and are one of the series (3-99) whether the numeral is in singular or compound or coordinate form. This may or may not have gender concord when they follow.
  - b) Ordinals show invariable gender (provided that the head noun is singular) when they precede the head, and gender concord when they follow.

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